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The Saturday Review of Literature – America and the Challenge of Asia

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IN ASIA the events of the next few years may affect the lives of Americans for generations to come.

Against the vast backdrop of the Orient two complex, interwoven processes have been operating simultaneously. One, the great West-East power struggle; the other, the struggle of the Asian peoples for national independence and for economic and political progress.

From all this arises the challenge of Asia to America.

Soviet Russia complicates this challenge because one of the prime purposes of Soviet diplomacy is to drive a wedge between the peoples of Asia and the United States. The purposes, policies, and actions of the United States are widely misunderstood in Asia and are skilfully distorted there by Russian propaganda and by native Communists.

In the midst of the vast upheavals and revolutions, the chaos and turbulence through which these people are living today, a basic pattern emerges.

First, the dominant struggle of the peoples of Asia in our time is for liberation. The word the Asian peoples most frequently use to describe it is nationalism. But, whether you call it nationalism or liberation or independence, it represents the attempt of more than half the world's peoples to govern themselves.

Next, the Asian peoples are hungry. They see a direct connection between that hunger and the feudal economic system which has made them into impoverished land slaves. And so the peasant farmer of Asia today wants to own the land he tills. In this sense it is a struggle for private property and private ownership.

Finally, the Asian peoples are struggling for self-respect. They have been treated as inferior beings for so long that they are determined to prove to themselves, as well as to others, that they can hold their heads high among their fellowmen.

At a time when the entire world is becoming a small and crowded neighborhood an understanding of the aspirations and problems of the East has a direct bearing on our own freedom and welfare. As a modest step toward that end we have devoted this issue of *The Saturday Review* to the theme "America and the Challenge of Asia."

In a very real sense the issue is a sequel to *The Saturday Review*'s January 13 study of "America and the Mind of Europe," for it recognizes the interdependence of a free Asia and a free Europe as well as the common destiny they must share with the United States.

—W.D.P.

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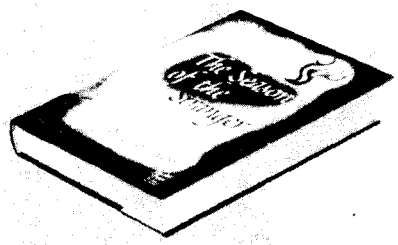

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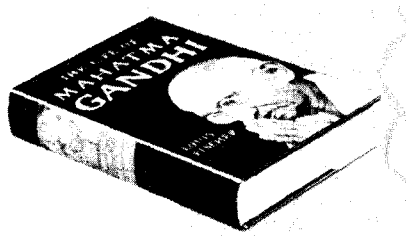

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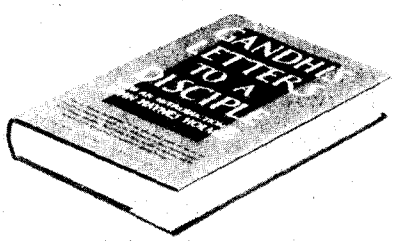

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HARPER & BROTHERS

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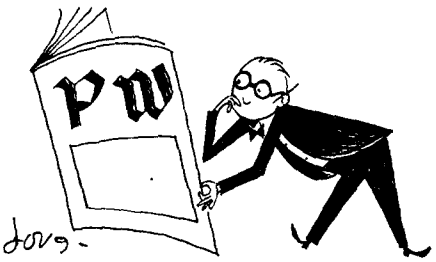
TRADE Winds

IN MUCH the same fashion that Abel Green's *Variety* serves as the "bible of show business," *Publishers' Weekly* keeps the book world abreast of current developments. For so many years the editorial destinies of *PW* have been guided by amiable Fred Melcher and universally-loved Mildred Smith, while Louis Greene rounded up the ads and meted out front-cover spots, that a whole dynasty of youngsters gradually has been primed to take over with-



out the general trade being aware of the changes. A visit to *PW*'s placid Forty-fifth Street sanctum will reveal the following cast of up-and-coming characters involved in operations.

Chandler Grannis now edits the "Bookmaking and Currents" department. Peter Jennison (brother of Keith) does "News and People." Alice Hackett has long prepared the weekly record and Forecast for Buyers. Libby Edes provides the "Tips for the Booksellers" and Jolly (Jocelyn) Kahn the Bookshop Talk. Sally Wecksler is in charge of make-up. Fred Melcher's son Dan writes special pieces and does promotion not only for *PW* but all the other Bowker books and periodicals. Paul Nathan contributes from the outside a column on book-and-movie tie-ups that is one of the most hep and readable *PW* features, the nearest approach to the jaunty and unorthodox style of *Variety* itself. And under Louis Greene's tutelage young Dick Bye is inheriting all the lore and guile Louis acquired at heaven only knows what cost in poker and golf games with heartless advertising contemporaries. Remember these names for future dealings with *Publishers' Weekly*. For the present, however, continue to depend on Mildred Smith to know all, see all —and do all. . . .

SPEAKING OF PERIODICALS, the current upsurge of *Harper's* and the *Atlantic,* under the respective and praiseworthy editorships of Frederick L. Allen and Ted Weeks, is a heartening sign that television will have no adverse effect whatever on higher-grade books and magazines. *Atlantic,* in addition to all its other problems, has had to contend in recent months with a persistent and incompetent poet who wouldn't take "no" for an answer and bombarded the staff with fresh contributions and reproaches for the return of old ones. Suddenly his style and vocabulary underwent a startling improvement. *Atlantic*'s poetry reader, Phoebe Adams, read his newest sheaf of sonnets first with astonishment, then with dawning recognition. Consultation with her reference library quickly affirmed her memory. She returned the sonnets with this very excellent composition of her own:

Dear Sir: By custom, poet's action may
Extend beyond the bounds of strict convention.
Fine frenzy, and the laurel and the bay
Fill prosy citizens with apprehension.

And with some reason. Villon was a thief,
Marlow a brawler. Dryden was a trimmer.
Pope dealt in libel. Byron would as lief
Abandon sin as claret with his dinner.

These were great poets, and their private crimes
Excused, as genius or preoccupation,
By the enduring glory of those rhymes
Which to this day compel our admiration.

No such excuse obtains; your crime's far worse
In peddling, as yours, Will Shakespeare's verse. . . .

TUCKED INTO a corner of Jessyca Russell's vanity case is Walter Davenport's definition of an editor: "A person who knows precisely what he wants—but isn't quite sure." . . . Tallulah Bankhead's life story as told to Dick Maney (who has the most magnificent gift of gab in the star-spangled annals of theatrical press agentry) will be a big feature of Harper's early 1952 list, and judging by the terms of the contract Miss Bankhead wangled for herself she combines the best features not only of Sarah Bernhardt and Bette Davis, but of Captain Kidd, Hetty Green, and J. P. Morgan as well. . . . Another encouraging note on the reviving prosperity of the publishing fraternity was unconsciously struck by the magnate who had asked a competitor to dinner in his Westchester home, but at the last moment decided he was not quite equal to the ordeal. "How did you get out of it?" asked a friend. "Easiest thing in the world," chuckled the publisher. "I simply flew to San Francisco for the week end." . . .

HAMMOND'S new "City Street Map Atlas and Trip Guide" ($1.95) shows leading thoroughfares, transit lines, terminals, airports, theatres, banks, and department stores of seventy-eight leading American cities—just the thing to prevent the death of a salesman. . . . Most fascinating non-fiction entry of the year: Rachel Carson's fast-selling "The Sea Around Us". . . . Pierre Clostermann's imminent "The Big Show," the intensely personal account of a fighter pilot who made 420 sorties for the RAF in World War Two, has already sold 600,000 copies in France and tops non-fiction lists in Great Britain. . . . Eric Swenson's Hybrid Books are featuring for the coming season "Gone with the Wind in the Willows"; "The Egg and I, My Ancestor"; "Brave New Worlds in Collision"; and "Point Counterpoint of No Return of the Native Son". . . .

LEW ROSENSTIEL'S PLAN for showing 5,000 European emissaries a month the blessings of the American way at first hand, briefly outlined in a recent TRADE WINDS, evoked over two hundred favorable responses and just one attack that labeled it "another crackpot pinko scheme for squandering hundred per cent Americans' hard-earned dollars on foreign riff-raff." The originator of the plan himself raised a quizzical eyebrow over my comment that his Schenley Distillers was waxing richer by the minute. "Let's just find out who is getting richer, Bennett," he admon-

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Essential Background to "The Great Debate"

THE STATE OF ASIA

by

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER
AND ASSOCIATES

Since the MacArthur investigations started, this country has been torn by a great debate on our policy in Asia—a vast continent about which most Americans know little.

The State of Asia is an up-to-date, authoritative, and comprehensive survey by leading experts, covering events in China, Korea, Japan, Indo-China, Thailand, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Malaya, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet, and making clear the trends currently at work in those regions.

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ished. "Today liquor is a bottle full of tax and a cork full of whiskey. People who grumble over the liquor industry's present price schedules should acquaint themselves with what part of the proceeds goes to us and what part to the Government. We are really 'hooked.' We have to sell not only the beer, the whiskey, and the wine, but the tax as well." Depressed by Mr. R's lament, we looked up Schenley's net profit after taxes for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1950: $36,915,203. Paltry though that be, we know several booksellers—a few publishers, too—who fared even worse! . . .

FOR MANY YEARS books and magazine publishers have been trying to plant their wares in the many thousand A and P stores. Success finally has crowned their efforts. A and P has agreed to make a comprehensive test in fifty or more key stores, beginning in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, area, with New England to follow. The original assortment will include ninety-three magazines and a half-dozen book lines. Curtis Publishing Company is supervising the installations, and American News branches and local independent distributors will check stocks and keep them up to snuff. Publishers who long have moaned about lack of sufficient outlets are watching the experiment with bated breath. . . . Charlie Hughes, of Detroit, recently entertained the author of a current best-selling autobiography. "A great fellow," enthused Charlie later, and added, "Besides, he's the only living man who could casually tell me, 'Oh, yes, that reminds me of one time when I was King of England.'" . . . The day before the Duchess of Windsor sailed for France, incidentally, she told friends, "Tonight the Duke and I are seeing 'The King and I.'" . . .

RUSSELL AUSTIN tells of a Milwaukee reader who was so enthralled by Gayelord Hauser's "Look Younger, Live Longer" she hastened to a bookstore and asked for Arthur Koestler's "The Yogurt and the Commissar". . .

—Bennett Cerf.

COMING IN SRL's SEPTEMBER 15 ISSUE

COMPLETE TRAVEL AND CULTURAL GUIDE TO MEXICO

(Advertising closing date: August 24)

Our picturesque good neighbor, Mexico, will sit for a comprehensive portrait, in text and pictures, in The Saturday Review. A Section of 30 to 40 pages will be devoted to the culture, arts, history and tourist attractions of Mexico to make a perfect guide for the intelligent visitor south of the border. Mexican writers and artists, as well as Americans, are contributing to make this issue a memorable event.

Solution of Last Week's Double-Crostic (No. 905)

WOODWARD:
REUNION AND REACTION

"I regard the South as being now in a sense the especial representative of the most precious principle of our American Constitution", said Senator Lamar in his day; . . . "that which alone will protect us from democratic despotism".

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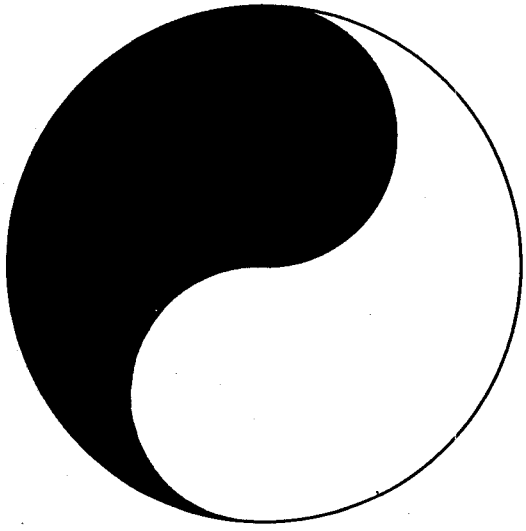

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The Saturday Review of Literature

A Policy for the West in Asia

CARLOS P. ROMULO

—*Fayer.*

ONE REASSURING consequence of the foreign policy debate in the United States is that nothing has come of the attempt to force on the American people a bitter choice between Europe and Asia. General MacArthur himself doomed that attempt to failure when in his address before Congress he declared that, since the menace to the free world is global it must be met on a global scale. Thus, from none other than the man who is regarded as the champion of a pro-Asian policy for America evidence has come that the issue is an artificial one and that the alternatives are false.

The statesmanship of the free world would indeed be in the precise state of confusion wherein the potential adversary wants it to remain were it to be divided on such a contentious issue. For we must always assume that while one phase of the tactics of the adversary is deliberately to create confusion among the peoples of the free world, it is equally certain that the reverse side of such tactics is to put the resulting confusion to his own uses, according to the time-honored custom in such cases of fishing in troubled waters.

A clear-cut indication that no "abandonment" of Asia is intended would effectively discourage such fishing expeditions. We should not too soon forget that the North Korean attack against the Republic of Korea was undoubtedly precipitated by the premature withdrawal of American troops from the latter, an act which was interpreted as proof of the waning American interest in the affairs of Asia and of the growing neo-isolationist sentiment among the American people. Conversely, the fact that the aggressor was challenged and resisted in Korea, perhaps the least interesting and defensible area from the point of view of Western strategy, may serve as a deterrent to other aggressive adventures elsewhere.

It is of the greatest importance, whatever the outcome of the truce in Korea or of the subsequent negotiations on related issues in the Far East, that the collective action that was undertaken in Korea be the accepted pattern of common action against any future act of aggression anywhere else in the world. Unless we make it clear that this is the meaning for us of the struggle in Korea the magnificent United Nations effort there will have come to naught and the sacrifices of our fighting men will have been in vain.

The reference to the "abandonment" of Asia is made strictly in terms of the existing struggle for power; that is to say, in terms of the old saying that nature abhors a vacuum. The recession of Western imperialism in Asia and the utter collapse of the Japanese effort to displace it have created a vacuum of power in the region. This has happened at a time when there is not a single power in the area that can assume the mantle of leadership and when, on the other hand, no regional consciousness as yet exists that can weld the diverse communities of Asia into a viable unity even for the purposes of their common defense and security.

One cannot, however, presume to speak of Asia as a whole if the intention is to create the impression that the Asian peoples are unanimous in welcoming without question the proofs of American concern in the affairs of Asia. A bitter memory of Western imperialism colors the attitude of the peoples inhabiting great sections of Asia, and as an ally of the West the United States becomes inevitably suspect. They have not yet forgotten the long period of American vacillation during the Indonesian struggle for independence. They have been confused by the issues at stake in Korea as a result of which all but two of the independent states of Southeast Asia stood apart from the struggle there. They are not quite clear as to the American intentions regarding Japan. They have failed to appreciate the motives of the United States in supporting French aims in Indochina. They have been dismayed by the long delay in the American effort to help relieve the famine in India. Whether rightly or wrongly, a great many of them believe that a policy of recognizing the Communist regime in China and allowing it to take its seat in the United Nations is the most effective means of promoting Peiping's independence of Moscow.

It is against this background of disillusionment, distrust, and differing opinions that the American policy towards Asia must be assessed. The barriers to a fuller mutual comprehension are moral and psychological more than they

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Bear in Mind . . .

To understand Asia better and the complex challenge confronting the United States in this area of the world where more than half the human race lives, Americans would do well to bear these ten points in mind when studying news from the Far East:

1. Most people in Asia will go to bed hungry tonight.
2. Most people in Asia cannot read or write.
3. Most people in Asia live in grinding poverty.
4. Most people in Asia have never seen a doctor.
5. Most people in Asia have never heard of democracy.
6. Most people in Asia have never known civil liberties.
7. Most people in Asia believe anything different would be better than what they have, and they are determined to get it.
8. Most people in Asia believe that freedom or free enterprise means the freedom of Western colonial powers to exploit Asians.
9. Most people in Asia distrust people with white skins.
10. Most people in Asia are determined never again to be ruled by foreigners. —W. D. P.

are political and military and must be met on that level.

The lack of comprehension is perhaps greatest in the political field. The negotiated settlement of the Korean conflict on honorable terms would go a long way towards mitigating the suspicions regarding American motives in Asia. Indeed, the behavior of the United States throughout the delicate period of the truce arrangements has already confirmed the avowed American policy of helping achieve the limited United Nations mission in Korea, namely, to repel the act of aggression and maintain international peace and security in the region.

By the same token, the determination with which the Korean campaign has been conducted under United States leadership within the limitations of that mission has greatly encouraged those peoples of Asia who are most directly exposed to the danger of possible aggression. They will henceforth be less likely to be disturbed or confused by statements emanating from Western Europe or from the United States itself which raise invidious comparisons between the importance of Europe and Asia in the scheme of American foreign policy.

Provided it be clearly understood that the policy of the West is to meet any threat or act of aggression wherever it may arise and that priorities of military assistance be determined on this basis, and on this alone, there is hope of an increasing measure of mutual understanding between Asia and the West.

It does not follow that mutual confidence can be established on this basis alone. It has become obvious for a long time that the freedom and security of the Asian countries, or indeed of any countries whatever, cannot be guaranteed by exclusively military means. External aggression in Asia is, on the whole, a danger less to be feared than ideological infiltration and internal subversion. The submarginal economy and relative inexperience with democratic principles and procedures of most of the Asian countries render them peculiarly susceptible to methods of subversion. Therefore, even if we assume that acts of aggression in Asia have been deterred for a long time to come by the United Nations effort in Korea, this is not to say that the methods of infiltration and subversion have been similarly arrested. Indeed, the contrary is probably true: to the extent that outright aggression has proved to be unsuccessful and even dangerous, the adversary will have recourse more and more to less obvious methods of gaining the same ends.

Military assistance must, therefore, be regarded as an immediate, short-term tactic to be employed in the face of possible emergency. Though sufficient to discourage aggression, it cannot by itself deter subversion. The remedy must be sought in a long-term strategy which is aimed at the immunization of the peoples of Asia against the virus of Communism. This means that maximum assistance must be proffered to these countries to enable them to develop their productive capacities and to raise their standards of living under arrangements compatible with their political sovereignty and national self-respect.

The United Nations programs of technical assistance and the United States policy of economic and financial aid are steps in the right direction. Unfortunately, both are at the moment of a scope wholly inadequate to the needs of the peoples of Asia.

There are valid arguments against the indiscriminate extension of such assistance. Asia is predominantly agrarian, and an agrarian economy reacts much less quickly to crutches of technical assistance or transfusions of financial aid than an industrialized economy normally does. But it is not a valid argument to say that such assistance must to be effective be absolutely conditioned in all cases upon political, social, and economic reforms however desirable these may be. The poverty, illiteracy, social inequalities, and political inexperience obtaining among great sections of the Asian peoples are the heritage of centuries of despotism, both native and foreign, and it is absurd to believe that these evils and shortcomings can be corrected in a short time by fiat.

The obvious political and cultural differences between the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia should be a useful guide in shaping distinctive policies in relation to either. The political maturity and economic advancement of the European peoples as a whole provide a proper basis for the type of assistance that has been given to them under the Marshall Plan. The requisite reforms could, for the most part, be undertaken within the existing framework of their political, social, and economic systems. At the same time, their older traditions of political freedom and democratic practice have rendered them far less susceptible to the bogey of American domination.

Not so in the case of the Asian peoples. Starting from scratch in political experience and from submarginal levels in economic development, they find themselves in a situation wherein a demand for prerequisite conditions of political and economic reform would virtually amount to the denial of such aid. Moreover, the fact that they have but recently won their freedom after long and bitter subjection and the fact that the Western Powers seem determined to hold on to their remaining colonial holdings in Asia have rendered them extremely sensitive to every evidence and possibility of undue interference in their internal affairs.

Under these conditions, a general policy of mend-your-house-first or help-yourselves-first, however unexceptional it may seem to Westren minds, is fraught with grave possibilities of misunderstanding and failure. The free world cannot afford to suffer a serious division in its ranks, and inexhaustible patience will be required to prevent it.

This sensitiveness to encroachments in their internal affairs, whether real or imagined, is one of the modes by

(*Continued on page* 59)

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ASIA'S MULTIPLE REVOLUTION

1. The Dimensions of the Crisis

HAROLD R. ISAACS

—Blackstone.

THERE is almost no vantage point from which we can view the whole heaving panorama of present-day Asia. There is no secure height from which the contemporary historian, with wonder but with detachment, can look out and down upon the great opening fissures, the smoking craters, and the newly-rising peaks and mountain ranges. There is no such place because what is going on in Asia is part of a gigantic rearrangement of continents and nations and classes in which we, too, a hemisphere away, are profoundly involved. We, too, stand on a moving slope. Our own footing is too unsure, our view around us colored by our own danger and our attention wholly absorbed by our frantic reach for safety.

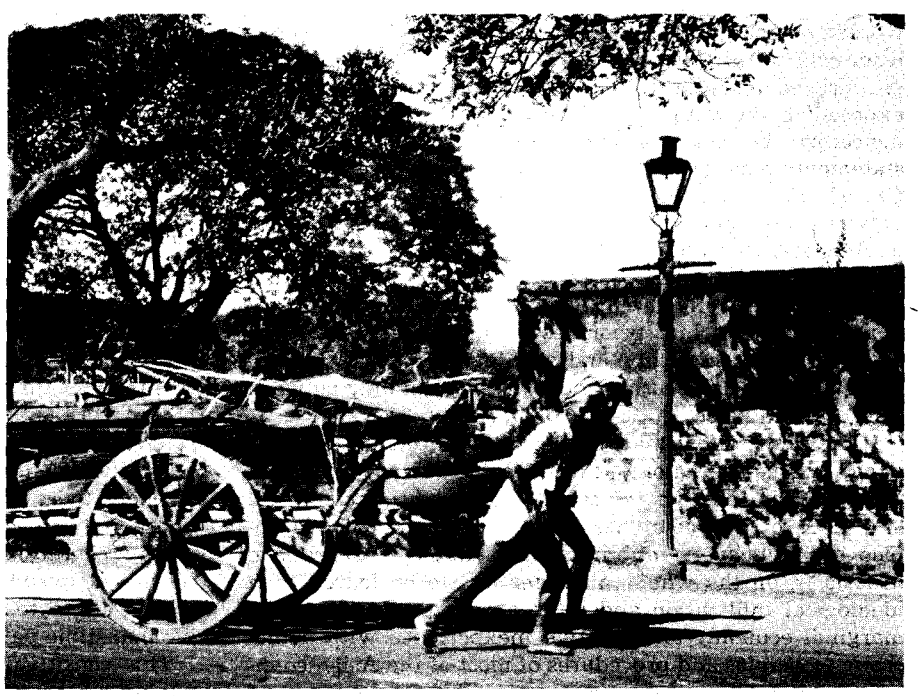
Asia, moreover, is a continent we never saw well or clearly, even in quieter times. We scarcely know what it looked like, what moved its peoples, or how its societies were put together before the great eruptions broke surface and filled the world with their obscurity and tumult. The savants of the past did not accumulate the knowledge or understanding that might have prepared us for the West's downfall in Asia. Scholars now reach desperately for monographs which are not there. Policy-makers devise expedients, which almost always fail for the reason that the people they are aimed at do not react in the expected manner.

On the other hand, the fact that Asia exists and is important has penetrated the American consciousness and is there to stay. This has been part of the process through which we have been forced in the last decade to discover and accept our inescapable links with the rest of the world. It has been a process of what we might call education-through-catastrophe. The Second World War finally jarred this country loose from its classic isolationism and transformed the American people in the main from complacent nationalists into reluctant internationalists. They discovered, through an experience that entered in some degree into almost every American's life, that their future was bound up with the future of the peoples of Europe. A thousand affinities with Europe in American origins, culture, and history made this discovery less of a wrench than it might otherwise have been.

Without any such affinities, with much more difficulty and much more slowly, there has also come the knowledge that beyond Europe, insistent and clamorous, lay Asia. Not one but a series of shattering events stretched over ten years—Pearl Harbor, the Pacific war, the Communist conquest of China, the war in Korea—have finally fixed Asia in the American's mind as a new base point for his thinking about world affairs and America's new world role.

This is a great new fact in our national history. It is not to be minimized because it is still an uninformed awareness or because it is developing amid such monumental confusion. A recent poll indicated that 80 per cent of the American people do not know where in Asia Manchuria is located. That shows that, among other things, we have some geography homework to do. But we do know that Manchuria is *in Asia*. Twice in ten years when crises erupted into war involving Americans the blow came upon us from Asia. One could think of easier educational methods. But this is, at any rate, the way we have learned that Asia *is*, that it has a bearing on all our lives, that we will persist in our ignorance about Asia only at our own utmost peril.

IN THE American mind especially the crisis in Asia has become inextricably bound up with the menacing expansion of Soviet totalitarianism. The two, to be sure, are linked in many important ways. But it has to be stressed again and again and again that the Asian crisis is not created by Russian totalitarianism but is exploited by it. In one form or another the Asian revolutions would be taking place if there were no such thing



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as Stalin's Russia. The forces of self-reassertion had begun to gather among the Asian peoples long before Communist Russia became a major power. The Western nations, with their depressions and wars, had begun to do a fair job of disembowelling themselves without Russia's help.

The Asian revolutions came tragically late, in part because the West resisted for so long and so stupidly the liquidation of its Asian empires. Because they are late, these revolutions swirl and eddy into blind passages, seeking to create new nations in an age no longer hospitable to nationhood. Because the long-retarded victory of nationalism can no longer bear fruit in effective social progress, revolutions that remain purely nationalist in content are abortive. The revolutionary pressures go far beyond the matter of national independence to the issues of the whole social structure, relations on the land and between classes, the terms and methods of economic development. These issues force themselves, in turn, far beyond national boundaries. They are soluble no longer within the confines of separate national economies; a new world economy is wanted. Thus the great forces in motion move blindly toward some new coherence. Communist totalitarianism responds to this need with a coherence of a kind, powerful even though it can only lead the peoples of the underdeveloped countries into still another blind passage. The Western world, for its part, has not yet been able to define what new coherence it might find to succeed its age of empire. This is the nub of the matter, the heart of the enigma.

To achieve this definition and to act upon it is not a matter of philanthropy. It is a matter of survival. For

with the old European empires the whole world economic system based on them came crashing down. That system was based upon a particular relationship between Europe and its colonies. That relationship has been severed now and will never be restored. Empire is gone from Asia and is going in Africa. Whether we appreciate it or not, we are engaged in trying to create a new kind of world political economy, not merely because it would be a good thing to have but because we need it to survive and grow, we of the Americas, and the Asians, and the Africans, and the peoples of Europe. It is into this great context that we must somehow try to fit the crowded violence and confusion of present-day Asia and the circumstances of our own conflict with the new Soviet Russian empire. We have to try to see all these events as the loose segments of a great effort, vast and jagged and irregular and blind, to overcome the obsolete separateness of the nations. We have to find the way of moving along with Asia's revolutions toward some new and tolerable coherence in world affairs, moving into new channels of democratic growth which the United States alone can open. Unless we do, these revolutions and the peoples of Asia will be sucked either into the blind alley of Communist totalitarianism or will adopt other forms of tyranny equally grotesque and insupportable.

IT IS RUSSIA'S great initial advantage that the Asian revolutions are directed in the first place against the West. Russia, too, is in conflict with the West, and we represent it. The major emotional drives in Asia now are compounded of self-assertion against Western power and Western racism and rejection of the whole pattern of enforced inferiority imposed during the age of Western empire. No present avowal of Western good intentions can wipe out all this history and all this accumulated hostility. In this respect the present plight of the West in Asia brings strongly to mind the Biblical dictum about the sins of the fathers.

For beginning with the loot of the great European freebooting expeditions of two and three centuries ago, Asian wealth was fed as primary capital into the process of European industrialization. In the long colonial era, Asian growth was thwarted and deformed, its poverty deepened, and its problems multiplied as its population grew. Many of Asia's present problems are rooted in Asian soil, but the major fact remains that Asian economic development for nearly 300 years was a function not of Asian needs but of Western European requirements. This imposed an insupportable distortion on Asian life. It preserved obsolete social relations and institutions. While creating a thin layer of modernization to service the extraction of wealth, it also created and maintained subsistence economies for multiplying masses of people. On

ON ONE hand, Western power established racial mastery and social, economic, and legal superiority for tiny alien minorities, adding to the economic burden the emotional tensions created among people held and treated as helots in their own lands.

On the other hand, the West involuntarily opened up to Asia the immense vistas of modern economic development and democratic revolutionary thought and traditions. These were the explosive charges laid deep in Asian soil during the colonial era. These are the charges that have so recently exploded, one after another, in a gigantic chain reaction across the face of Asia in our own time. They have thrown China, after a tortured history of frustrated struggle, into the arms of a Communist dictatorship. Out of the colonies of southern Asia they have shaped the new republics of India, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines, the new dominion of Pakistan, and opened the conflict, still unresolved, in Indochina. Foreign rule has been left more or less intact only in Malaya, where the British sway holds only because the divided population cannot find any nationalist consensus.

We still know too little of all the history, remote and recent, that has gone into the making of these events. The adequate study of it remains a major challenge and task for both Western and Asian scholarship. All the Asian peoples now share their backwardness and their need to overcome it. They share also the legacy of the age of empire and the present anarchic state of the world. But there is a point, even in a summary meant to be brief and broad, where it becomes misleading to generalize about "Asia."

Vast differences among peoples and cultures are embraced in this one great continent, differences as great as the contrasts between its steaming tropical valleys and its Himalayan heights, its equatorial islands and its high, dry, northern continental reaches. Its peoples are of many ethnic varieties. Its civilizations include the Islamic, the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Chinese. Often these, though thousands of years old, are superimposed upon still older animisms which still

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". . . all their accumulated burdens."

play a vital and even a governing role in the lives of millions of people. Within each country contrasts and differences abound. Together and separately they condition the thinking and behavior of the people.

Only Asians examining themselves will eventually sort out the roots of their behavior, just as we are only now beginning to sort out our own. But we will all have stereotypes to shed. The Asians will have to get over the stereotype of the bloated Western capitalist, and the Westerner will have to get over such things as the legend of Asian inscrutability, a myth created by Westerners to cloak their own abysmal ignorance of the people they ruled for so long. Varying Asian attitudes and states of mind are a total product, like attitudes anywhere, of culture, environment, and contemporary pressures and circumstances. They remain mysterious only to those who make no effort to understand them. The present upheavals, to be sure, are taking place on a scale often too large for clear visibility. But starting from what we can grasp, we can discern at least some of the major paradoxes into which all this history has propelled the peoples of Asia and the rest of the world. For we can be sure that the resolution—or further complication—of these paradoxes will be the major content of the history that still lies ahead of us.

THE FIRST of these paradoxes is wrapped up in the fact that nationalism is triumphing in Asia in an age when nationalism as such is bankrupt. Nationalist self-assertion is still the primary emotion among Asia's dominant intellectuals and leaders, yet in the profoundest historical sense their nationalism is already obsolete and fruitless. They are desperately trying to find new dignity and new growth in nationhood but they are already discovering that nationhood is not enough, that it cannot begin to solve the people's needs. National sovereignty has become not a tool of progress but a brake upon it. If this is true for the older, stronger nations, it is even more cruelly true for these new nations, just emerging with all their accumulated burdens out of their colonial past. Unless they become part of a larger entity engaged in building a new world political economy they are doomed to frustration.

The problem of achieving new national identity, moreover, has been absorbed into the problem of achieving new social identity. The question is no longer: who shall rule, Westerner or Asian? It is rather: which Asian shall rule, peasant or landlord, worker or capitalist, plebeian or aristocrat, democrat or bureaucrat or despot? For the issue is not merely one of power at the summit but of the shape of the entire social fabric, of outworn social relations, of land systems retarding productivity, of the terms and methods of new growth, of modernization and industrialization. It is a matter of renewing and reshaping superannuated societies, rich with age and tradition but incapable of solving the problems of poverty and ignorance for the masses of people. The friction between imbedded cultural patterns and irresistible pressure for social change will have to generate new syntheses and open new epochs whose shape we can now only dimly perceive.

It is the weakness of the non-Communist Asian nationalist today that he is in the main unable or unwilling to reach toward these new revolutionary perspectives. Often he is a man whose aspirations were satisfied by merely replacing the hated foreigner in the seat of power. More often he is also a man who wants change but does not want to upset existing property rights and social relations. Still more often he is a man who hopes to cope with problems with a gradualness that the times do not allow. And most often he is a man who tends, as the new pressures crowd in upon him, to place the blame for his weaknesses and limitations not upon himself but upon forces outside, on the legacies of empire, on the continuing power struggle which hems him in and deprives him of the aid he so urgently needs. Since these are in fact enormous obstacles in his path, he has ample basis for his new resentments; they lend a certain reasonableness to his increasingly unreasonable sense of frustration and helplessness.

Meanwhile the popular élan which swept nationalism forward in the wake of the Japanese war has subsided into a dissatisfied apathy, a deepening mass disillusionment, a search for other means of achieving the improvements which national independence was somehow magically supposed to bring about. In the face of his own ineffectualness and the conservatism of the new regimes and the inhospitableness of the Western world,

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the displaced Asian, especially the displaced Asian intellectual and the hard-pressed member of the middle class, is being drawn to fanaticisms that seem to promise him some release. This can, as in the case of Hindu extremism in India, take the form of religious fanaticism linked to ultra-conservative political and social outlooks. Often it includes a blind and peculiarly hopeless reach for a resurrection of the ancient glories and power that are gone forever; there is much of this in the Islamic political movements in Pakistan and Indonesia. But to an increasing extent it assumes the form of an acceptance of Communist totalitarianism as the "wave of the future," as the only hope of achieving the new national and social identity and economic coherence the Asian needs and must have.

In this lies a second major paradox of even more formidable proportions than the paradox of abortive nationalism. For if conservative nationalism is a blind alley, so is Communist totalitarianism. The attractive power of the Communist movement lies, in the first place, in its readiness to carry the revolutionary movement to bold extremes. It lies, in the second place, in the example of Russia itself; was not Russia a backward country that transformed itself by these means in a single generation into a major power? Smash Western influence, demolish the old social relations, create an absolutist power mechanism, crush all dissidence, mobilize the people, and begin a monster series of harsh expedients designed to lift the land out of its backwardness by its own sandal-straps. It can be done because Russia did it and Russia is today close to ruling the world. Such, in brief essence, is the Communist promise and the Communist claim. It has undeniable power, especially in the face of faltering conservatism or plain oppression. Yet it is a siren promise, a false claim. The question is how much the peoples of Asia—and of the rest of the world—are going to have to pay in blood and sweat to find this out.

THAT NATIONAL freedom becomes pure mythology in the Russian totalitarian empire is a fact of life that a great many Asians have yet to learn. It has been demonstrated within the USSR itself and on a massive scale in Eastern Europe. Within this empire all national purposes are subordinated to Russian power strategy and Russian national aggrandizement. Thousands of Communists, not to speak of non-Communists, have found this out in the prisons and execution chambers

(*Continued on page 58*)

2. *The Nature of the Crisis*

RALPH E. TURNER

—Yale Univ. News Bureau.

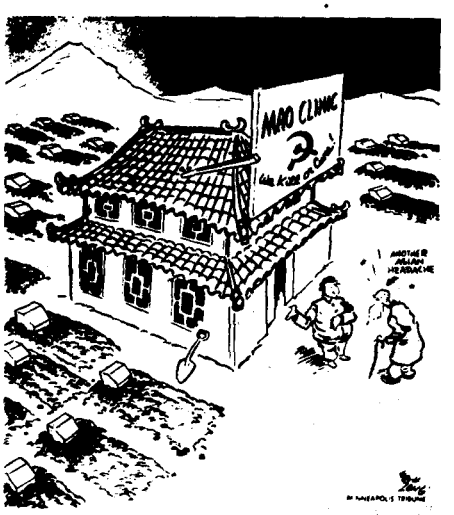
"WE ARE people!" This cry was first raised by Rizal, the Filipino patriot, in the attacks upon Spanish rule during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Today the cry best expresses the multiple motivations of the Asian Revolution. It has somewhat different meanings from people to people, but among each of them it declares the intention to take control of their own lives and to develop them in new ways.

For Rizal the cry was pointed at the "injustices" of a regime of irresponsible officials and censorious priests which denied Filipinos access to the knowledge necessary for the development of their country. The Chinese find the source of this same denial in "imperialism"; the Indians see it in "exploitation," the Moslems in the "concentration of economic control," and the Buddhist Siamese, Burmese, and Singhalese in the "atomization of life." They agree that each of these destructive conditions is merely a manifestation of the great weakness of Western culture; namely, "materialism," which they regard as the treatment of persons as things.

In short, "We are people!" is a cry demanding the end of Western rule in Asia. Since this demand gives rise to spectacular changes in the political relations of Asian and Western peoples, both tend to feel that it is the chief element in Asian nationalism. Certainly this feeling of Asians should make possible a correct interpretation of their reactions to Western actions and aims. For example, in the matter of supplying wheat for the relief of famine in India, Indians generally felt that by raising the question of payment with raw materials useful for war America was balancing her own military interests against India's human needs. Before his recall General Douglas MacArthur seemed to symbolize to many people in Asia what they believed to be America's intention to treat them primarily in terms of American military security. Similarly the British Conservative Party and its leader, Winston Churchill, have aroused deep resentment because by proposing to partition Persia between Britain and Russia in order to save the properties of an oil company they have most flagrantly exhibited the historic imperialist way of treating Asian people as things. The fact that both MacArthur and Churchill are no longer in power in no way abates the hostility of Asians to such actions and proposals, for they fear that these men speak the ultimate intentions of the West. The memories of the Asian peoples are long.

BUT, HOWEVER much the cry "We are people" asserts the Asian will to be free of Western domination, it carries other meanings even more significant for the future of the Asian Revolution, whose course they set within the Asian nations.

In some areas of Asia the rise of nationalism has brought about an extension of the individual's sense of social responsibility. In Communist China, for example, the family, the village, and the clan or caste are ceasing to be the center of the individual's interests and loyalties. An explicit, though extreme, expression of this new feeling runs in the Chinese Communist slogan "No family, no clan, no village—only the people." Consider, too, the new national political consciousness replete in the behavior of the



—Scott Long in the Minneapolis Tribune.

"One Way to Redistribute the Land."

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"We are people!"

peasants of a Turkish village who on the day of the most recent general national election went to the polling place in a body, called for their ballots, marked and deposited them, and then after sitting in a circle all day around the boxes in which the ballots had been placed watched the election officials count them. Generally the new feeling vitalizes the interest in politics that is growing among many of the Asian peoples. This interest is evident in such questions as "What is happening in Bangkok?" or "What price will the Government pay for my rice?" asked by Siamese peasants.

Historically Asian regimes were known to their peoples mainly in the exercise of power. The persistence of this understanding is well indicated by an old woman, a denizen of a Bombay chawl, who while not knowing the meaning of the word "government" was completely familiar with the meaning of the words "police" and "taxes." Another resident of the chawl, a man much younger than the old woman, expressed the new attitude by declaring that he wished he could be elected to the city council so that he could get something done about the sanitary conditions in the chawl. (In the building where he and the old woman lived the water pipes connecting the toilets and the sewer had rotted out.) Small rubber producers in Malaya ask, "Why doesn't the Government help us build a school?" and then go ahead and build one for themselves. Today, certainly, when the historic relations of Asian governments to their peoples are recalled nothing in the whole Asian scene can be regarded as more revolutionary than the growth of these feelings of responsibility between people and government and between government and people.

In general, the Asian peoples want three things: first, education for their children; second, better health for themselves; and, third, better economic conditions for all. For peasants the last means more land and higher prices; for urban workers it means higher wages and improved housing. Simple as these desires of the Asian peoples are, they constitute the central objectives of the Asian revolution. Western peoples should understand these objectives, for, indeed, they are those for which they have fought thoughout the nineteenth century and for which they still fight in the twentieth century. When seen from the point of view of the millions of ordinary human beings involved the Asian revolution moves along the path the Western peoples have blazed in their own recent devolopment.

BUT THE CRY "We are people!" expresses also the determination of the Asian peoples to retain their historic cultures. Cultural nationalism is rampant among them. The Chinese intend to remain Chinese, the Indians Indian, and the Mussulmen Moslem. They do not wish to be "Westernized." They desire to be "modernized." They make a sharp distinction between the two. To them and to the prophets of their revolutions—Rizal, Stalin, Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi, Iqbal, and many lesser ones—"modernization" means taking possession of scientific knowledge and bringing its services to their lives. If it is said to them that science is a Western achievement they point to the contributions—the Chinese to paper and printing, the Indians to the conception "zero," and the Mussulmen to Arabic science as a whole—without which, they argue, it could never have developed in the West. They regard their taking possession of science as merely the reaping of a harvest the seeds of which they sowed. Whereas nationalism is the driving force of the Asian revolution, science is the recognized means of its realization.

Most Asian leaders know, however, that "modernization," even when distinguished from "Westernization," raises great problems for the persistence of the historic Asian cultures. Some of them find easy solutions for these problems in certain texts of their traditional and philosophical writings or in a particular period of their history. The Chinese Communists, for example, say that they are realizing for China the *Ta-tung* or "the great solidarity" envisioned by Confucius as the perfect society. Some Indians quote passages from their epic poems which are said to prove that their Aryan ancestors possessed airplanes and rapid-fire guns because, as these texts assert, they flew through the air and sent off showers of arrows; such texts, these Indians argue, mean that they can adopt modern science and technology without breaking with their historic culture. Some Mussulmen point to the reigns of the "Pious Khalifs," following the death of Mahommed, as a period when they had a just society, and all they need to do now is to restore it. Although these arguments rationalize in terms of tradition what is desired to be done in the present, they do not solve the practical problems of adjusting the historic cultures to either the process or the results of modernization.

There has never been and there is not now a democratic government in Asia, and, what is more, the fundamental concepts of liberty, individual rights, and representation upon which such a government rests do not exist in Asian cultures. Sun Yat Sen argued from the fact that the Chinese had no word for "liberty" to the conclusion that liberty had been so universal among them that they had never felt

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the need to conceive it. There is no word for "rights" in Sanskrit. Gandhi declared that when everyone performs his duties no one has need of rights. Both men, as did most of the other prophets of the Asian Revolution, believed that the organization of power and the administration of government should be in the hands of an educated minority. In support of this belief they had precedents from their traditional cultures. Under the Chinese empire administrators were appointed from the literati. In Indian states Brahmans generally served as advisors and administrators of princes. In Islam the Ulema were mainly lawyers and as such the administrators of the religious law which princes and peasants alike were obligated to obey. Americans should understand that the European imperialist regimes also provided the Asian people with precedents for filling administrative posts from educated minorities. As will be noted in a succeeding paragraph, this becomes for Asians the matter of the kind of education the minority shall receive.

"... the Asian Revolution moves along the path the Western peoples have blazed ..."

THE CONTEST between the Soviet system and Western democracy in Asian countries should be seen against this background. Lenin was a European intellectual who, in spite of his use of Marxist tactics to seize power, believed that the age-old popular sentiments of right conduct when fortified with an education giving every individual a knowledge of arithmetic would assure both the control and the administration of government by the people. This belief was compounded of romanticism, anarchism, and a faith in cost accounting. Stalin, who organized the power which Lenin seized, had no such notions. He rose to power as an organizer, not as an intellectual or a tactician. The purge of the "Old Bolsheviks," which destroyed the chief source of opposition to him, had origin mainly in the fact that while holding fast to the romantic conceptions of Lenin they resisted his organization of power. Under his leadership the Communist Party ceased to be the "vanguard of the proletariat" and became the central corps of administrators for modernizing Russia. When Stalin says, as he does, "I am an Asiatic" he declares more than a personal fact. Actually he says that the Russian Revolution is part of the Asian Revolution, and the Asians understand it to be so.

This fact does not mean that the Asian Revolution is not bringing a new role in government to the people. The role, however, is not so much that of a democratic electorate as it is that of administrators at the local level. Under the Chinese Communists the village council concerns itself with the redistribution of lands, irrigation, argricultural improvement, and welfare. In India the village *panchyats* are being revived for the performance of similar tasks. In Vietminh the house of the village *dinh* or spirit, where once supernatural favor was sought for the emperor and through him for the people, is now the center of peasants' discussions of their problems. Indonesian leaders are counting on the traditional practices of mutual aid—*gotong-royong*—to provide a firm basis for peasant participation in organizing cooperative production and distribution, welfare services, and education. In Turkey each village maintains a house where the men gather to discuss the enterprises which the village should undertake. If the trend of this devolpment seems to be toward the Russian system of soviets, it must also be recognized that it flows both from the present needs and the traditional practices of the people.

Of the vocabulary of contemporary ideological conflict — "democracy," "Communism," "Socialism," "totalitarianism," and "nationalization"—Asian peasants and urban workers generally know only the last; and for them it means merely that government will do things for them. How the things they want done, previously noted, are to be brought about, they do not know. But their leaders think in terms of economic planning and nationalization. Most of their plans remain "paper schemes" because of the lack of capital. Low productivity, the tendency of landlords to invest only in land, and the comprador practices of merchants obstruct the accumulation of domestic capital; and it can be safely said that, although foreign capital can aid significantly, there is not now and never will be sufficient amounts of foreign captal to modernize the economies of the Asian countries. The central economic question for this modernization is, therefore, "How can a process of domestic capital formation be started and accelerated?" Economic planning and nationalization are correlative aspects of this process as Asian leaders now understand it.

Burma furnishes a case in point. Her greatest source of foreign exchange is the sale of rice in the world market. Its export has been nationalized. Some of the profits are used for capital expenditures. Outside of Rangoon stands the most modern cotton-spinning mill in the world. It was built by American textile engineers and equipped with American machines not yet generally adopted in the American cotton-spinning industry. Today the mill is producing thread, mainly from Indian and Egyptian fibres purchased with foreign exchange. The thread is supplied to peasants who, when not busy in their rice fields, weave it in their homes into the lengths of cloth—"longies"— that are the common dress of the people. The Burmese plan twenty such mills in order to meet the country's entire demand for cotton cloth. They plan also to expand the cultivation of cotton, so that only the Egyptian long-staple fibre necessary to give

(*Continued on page* 56)

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1. Portraits for the Future

JAMES A. MICHENER

—Blackstone.

THE LEADING resources of Asia, as of all lands, is its people. In the last war when the United States needed bomber bases in China crowds of Chinese peasants lugged wicker baskets filled with rocks and built fields by hand. When Japan decided to make its overnight leap from medieval feudalism to modern nationalism her amazingly skilful people applied their energies and in a brief period of time accomplished the miracle. And when Indonesia determined to be free, from a nation that had been kept in illiteracy sprang men and women capable of establishing a workable government for the sixth largest nation on earth.

But nowhere in Asia are people more important than in India, for here at the traditional crossroads of Asia stands the keystone of the East. India is one of the oldest continuing nations on earth; during long periods it was one of the most highly civilized; it has miraculously preserved the oldest successful religion still being practised; and it shows every sign of still being able to weather the storms of history.

India is a poetic nation, yet it demands new electrical plants. It is a mystical nation, yet it wants new roads. It is traditionally a peaceful nation, yet it could, if misled, inflame Asia. It is a nation which has known many conquerors, yet it always clings close to its own soil and in time sees the conquerors vanish. Indians are a cohesive people, yet even after the partition of Pakistan they include many minorities, no common language save English, and numerous divisive forces. Above all, Indians are awakening to the full meaning of both nationalism and social progress at one breathless moment, and their capacity to ignore temporary inconvenience and staggering disaster is enormous.

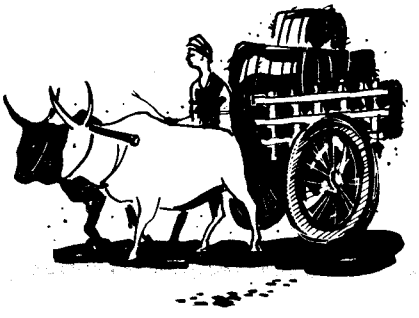
It would be a great tragedy if America were alienated from this grand reservoir of strength. We have only 151,000,000 people—multiplied in world import by our coefficients of universal education, mechanical skill, and democratic procedure—but India has more than 345,000,000, and when they have created their coefficients of education, good government, and production their force will be immense. America would be very foolish indeed if she permitted either her own petulance or Indian arrogance to separate this vast and surging populaton from its normal friendship with us.

In the five truncated conversations that follow, various Indians report upon the ideas current in their land today. Although they happen to be Indians they speak for most of Asia, for they represent the kinds of people that comprise the continent. It is essential that we understand them.

DEV KANTA BOROOAH

He was a brilliant member of Parliament, one of the most persuasive and exciting talkers I've ever heard. He exploded with ideas, bubbled over with energy, and knew a great deal about America. He was a young man with a sense of humor and a determination to see India firmly established.

"I've been in politics for twenty years, because I first went to jail in 1930. Been in prison four times so I understand politics pretty well. Haven't the slightest grudge against the British. Nobody in India hates Britain any more. I never forget they threw me in jail four times but I also never forget they built twenty universities. And organized a decent legal system. And gave us an ideal of how an honest government should be run.



"Then why did we throw them out? Their time was up. Let me explain what I mean. I remember one afternoon when all India agreed that if Britain didn't get out we'd assassinate them all, Lord Mountbatten first. The next day Lord Mountbatten turned the Government over to us. At five-thirty that day we had what we wanted, the right to nominate of our own free will a Governor-General of our own choice. Whom did we nominate? Lord Mountbatten, of course."

Like every responsible man in Asia, Mr. Borooah says, "Oh, if we only have ten years of peace! We do not want war. We do not want to enlarge ourselves or puff ourselves up. We want time to put India on a sound footing. We face enormous problems.

"What are they? First, we must create an adequate food supply. Everything is secondary to that. Second, we must manufacture more things for our people to use. Third, we need lakhs of schools—a lakh is 100,000—for our illiteracy is disgraceful. Fourth, we must battle poverty. Fifth, we must lower the price scale, for we are on the brink of inflation. Sixth, we must continue to break down the caste system. I myself married outside of caste. So did Nehru's daughter. And seventh, we must improve the national health, for our life expectancy is only twenty-six years. Think of that."

Mr. Borooah actually seems impatient to begin his work upon the great tasks that face India. He repeatedly refers to Gandhi and says, "Never underestimate that saintly man. He kindled in us all that was best. He tried to remove all that was worst. I would feel safe if he were living, but we do try to keep his spirit alive. That's why we'll solve our problems."

MRS. RENUKA RAY

One of the people who is working hardest to build a consolidated and modern India is the gracious and powerful housewife who sits in Parliament as the champion of women's rights. She looks nothing at all like an amazon, for she is most attractive and always willing to let the other fellow make his arguments . . . providing she

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is free to come back and annihilate them.

She says, "I started this fight for women's freedom back in 1927 when I was in college. Since then I've heard every lame old argument put forth by the orthodox Hindu men. They cry, 'Indian womanhood is sacred!' They protest that if these sacred women are given any rights the great mystical life of India will be destroyed. But it all comes down to their not wanting to surrender any of their own privileges.

"These old men cry, 'It's sacrilege to change old customs.' But there used to be a custom in Malabar whereby all land and wealth were vested in women. Believe me, the men changed that law fast enough when they got the chance. And none of them wept about the sacred old customs."

Mrs. Ray has on her side all the enlightened women of India and most of the educated men. She has against her the orthodox Hindu men and about 95 per cent of the women of India, for they cannot read or write.

Socially Mrs. Ray's bill is in no way revolutionary. It forbids a man to have more than one wife. It permits divorce somewhat more sparingly than European countries now permit it. But it does revolutionize Indian life because it permits daughters to share in their father's wealth.

"The old men weep that if our bill passes the farm lands of India will be cut into even smaller parcels. That is a problem about which every Indian should worry, because in a recent survey one region showed 15 per cent of farms supporting an entire family had less than a quarter of an acre each. But the evil will not be removed by keeping women in bondage. What must be done is to work out a better farming system and a better system of freedoms for women. We must ask which is more important: old land systems that lead to starvation or new systems which will permit land and human beings alike to be free?"

Mrs. Ray is only one thoughtful Indian among thousands who are attacking old problems with fresh vigor. Intelligent, witty, and determined, she is aware that filibusters in Parliament, prejudice outside, and the dead hand of custom are all against her.

". . . among the most gracious human beings on earth."

SOHAN LAL

I am always amazed when my friends ask me, "How did you manage to get along in India? You don't speak their language? Isn't it a dreadful experience?"

At such times I wish I could whisk them to Delhi to spend an evening with my friend Sohan Lal. He's an amazing fellow of forty-four, a brilliant, darting, handsome hummingbird of a man. He stands five-feet-one, moves with compulsive energy, and bursts into loud guffaws of laughter.

There for a time he didn't have much to laugh about, for he lived in Lahore, a Hindu on the wrong side of the India-Pakistan border. He lost everything: houses, factories, businesses, even a college in which he was a lay adviser. He fled Lahore and started all over again in Delhi.

"I never worry about it," he laughs. "There's enough work for everyone in Delhi." He runs a printing press and has just issued a vigorous pamphlet at his own expense advising the Government what it ought to do on several important points. "I just decided someone ought to call them to task. I don't suppose I'll sell a dozen, but I'm seeing to it that everyone who should listen gets a copy."

Sohan Lal speaks perfect English, like every educated Indian. It is impossible to go anywhere in India—or, indeed, in most of Asia—without finding someone who speaks English. Of course, Lal sometimes gets so excited that his words seem to tumble out.

Running up to you he thrusts a silver tray at you containing a biting sauce and a towering mound of little brown meat balls. With a swoosh he dips one into the sauce and pops it into your mouth. "Chicken kebabs!" he cries. Then he presses more upon you and laughs, "I always eat eight or nine!"

Then, suddenly, he says, "I've been to America several times." His voice drops, and you realize he has stopped clowning. There is much about America that he did not especially like, but tonight he says, "It's a fairyland. Even the magic lamp of Aladdin could not reproduce the wonders of America. Whenever I am in America I look at your healthy people, your comforts. I want India to be like that."

To be with Sohan Lal is a rare privilege. You find that he is very well informed on a multitude of questions, that he knows better than you what grave problems face India, and that in his own one-man way he is doing something about them. He has helped start schools. He has pioneered in better business practices. And he sends pamphlets to the Government. There are thousands of Indians like Sohan Lal. They are among the most gracious human beings on earth. Fortunately, they understand the West, and it is upon their fundamentally sound friendship that we must rely.

RAM

Men like Sohan Lal and women like Mrs. Ray represent the few. Ram is the many. I met him at a waterhole one afternoon as he took time off from his farming to talk with me. He spoke not a word of English, had never traveled more than ten miles from his village, rarely had enough to eat, and was perpetually in debt.

He scratched his thin nose and said, "My money goes to the zamindar and the baniya."

These were new words to me but he explained them, and if America

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guesses wrong about these two words we shall meet with tragedy in Asia.

"The zamindar," Ram explained, "owns the land. I pay him taxes. There are many kinds of taxes. Regular taxes. And wedding taxes."

"What are they?" I asked.

"If the zamindar's daughter gets married he gives a big feast. This takes money, so he comes to his tenants and collects a wedding tax. Then there is the automobile tax."

"Have you an automobile?"

"Heavens, no! But the zamindar does.

"So you pay for it?"

"Yes."

"Are such taxes approved by the government?"

"Who knows? All I know is that I have to pay them."

The zamindar is one of the curious mistakes of history. When the British invaded India they had to find some way of making local populations pay just taxes for support of the new government. The temporary expedient was adopted of farming out the taxes to intermediary zamindars who had been doing this job for the Muslim predecessors of the British. Year by year the expedient was extended—always as a temporary measure—until Lord Cornwallis, fresh from Yorktown, decided that the simplest way to settle the whole question was to confirm the zamindars as actual owners of the land. Reasoned Cornwallis, "In case of foreign invasion, it is a matter of the last importance, considering the means by which to keep possession of India, that the proprietors of the lands should be attached to us from motives of self-interest. A landholder who is secured in the quiet enjoyment of a profitable estate could have no conceivable motive for wishing a change."

Today India is trying to buy off its zamindars, just as Rumania, Mexico, and Ireland had to get rid of their absentee and worthless landlords. Wise and just laws have been passed in state legislatures, but so far nothing has happened, for the courts have forestalled expropriation. But if the zamindars and their dead hold on the land are not removed India will go Communist. When Nehru's government passes the necessary federal legislation to end this anachronism—introduced originally by non-Indians—there will be cries in India and no doubt in America of Socialism. But if Nehru doesn't get his laws through in a hurry, if land reforms are not made soon, there will be no need of cries either in India or America. India will have gone Communist.

Ram continues. "To pay the zamindar's taxes is difficult, so I borrow money from the baniya."

"What is a baniya?" I ask.

"A fat man with money. He lends me money whenever I need it."

"Do you pay it back?"

Ram laughs happily. "Pay it back? No! Who would pay it back?"

"You mean he gives you the money?"

This time Ram shouts and tells the neighbors of my question. "The baniya give anyone anything? Oh, no! I pay him interest each month."

We do some figuring and find that Ram pays about 28 per cent interest each year. He is lucky. Many baniyas charge well over 36 per cent. Year after year Ram pays this charge, never escaping his debt, never lowering it.

"Why do you keep borrowing money? This looks like good land."

"Ah, but there are the weddings of my children. And the deaths. And other little things."

Crushed between the zamindar and the baniya, Ram lives out his life. These two fundamental wrongs of village life—and more than 85 per cent of Indians live in small villages—keep rural life unprogressive, unproductive, and economically hopeless. Something has got to be done to eliminate the zamindar and the baniya. And it must be done soon, for Russia keeps telling peasants like Ram that she has a surefire, ready made way to solve those problems. That is why I say that if America guesses wrong about these two words we may well lose India as we lost China.

M. B. SINGH

If you want to meet a man who is doing something about the pitiful land system—a man who makes you feel that India has a chance, go out to the dry plains west of Delhi and meet M. B. Singh.

He's a big, bald-headed, happy-go-lucky farmer of forty-five. He's in charge of a governmental experiment station, and his pregnant experiment consists of having talked 18,000 villagers into combining their meager plots of land into one big farm.

"This is not a collective farm," Singh says promptly. "If anyone living in the area doesn't want to join our programs, he doesn't have to. But when he sees the men around him making money he joins up. I have great respect for the Indian peasant. I ought to, because I'm one myself. Like them I have too many children. Eight."

What revolutionary ideas does Singh have? None. His ideas go back almost to Biblical times. "Look at this plough," he says. "This is the most important thing I've accomplished on the farm. A long section of tree trunk is pierced for yoking oxen. At the other end a simple crossbeam has been lashed. We have no nails. To the crossbeam we attach this tiny steel plough. Total cost $2.10, and it's made our fields wonderfully productive.

"What was my next big idea? Putting fish in the water ponds. We found a hard-flesh carp and from one acre of water get $86 worth of fish. And our diet is improved.

"My next introduction was a new wheat that's been developed up north. Yields 60 per cent more to the acre."

In some ways, however, it is the milk shed that merits first attention. Mr. Singh says he would like me to see this, because it has made the biggest difference in the community.

To reach it we pass through the village walls, and there in a tragic, filthy community we see the untouchables. In huts that almost collapse from the wind swarm the Harijans, as Gandhi named them: the Children of God.

Not fifty yards away we come upon the milk shed. It's spotless. "We built it and said we'd buy milk at a premium from anyone who brought his cows here to be milked. The farmers laughed and said why would anyone pay more for milk just because the cow stood in a clean shed. But one man brought his cows, nevertheless, and he did get more for his milk. Now trade is brisk."

"Who keeps the shed immaculate?" I asked.

"Those untouchables. Those filthy, poor, bedeviled people. I can't make them keep themselves clean yet. Perhaps later . . . "

He knows what he is doing. He says, "In these fields you can see India choosing her future. Our village plots have grown so small that they must be combined. Either it will be done

(Continued on page 37)

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2. *The Women of Asia*

SANTHA RAMA RAU

-Clara Sipprell.

A COUPLE of years ago when I was in Indonesia I was talking to one of the women in a village about her place in her family and in the community. In the course of conversation I asked, "Which do Indonesian women consider most important, beauty, brains, or wealth?"

She answered, "But more important than any of those is independence."

"Do you mean political independence?" I asked.

"Politics," she said, "are for men. No, I mean independence inside yourself."

Recently I have often thought of that remark when I have heard Asian women described as "backward" or, as a leading magazine recently put it, in "bondage" and in need of "liberation." To Asian women, if one can lump so many millions together, independence is an attitude of mind (and one with which they are familiar); it is, as my Indonesian friend said, inside yourself. It isn't liberation that the Asian woman needs so much as time to learn the techniques of her new privileges and responsibilities.

The Asian woman is often pictured as enclosed by the walls of her family, subdued, ignorant, and afraid. She is illiterate, inexperienced in political thought and action, suppressed and hidden by her menfolk, at worst a sort of unpaid servant, and at best a decorative object kept in the home. There is a certain amount of truth in this popular picture. Most of the women of Asia are certainly illiterate—less than 5 per cent in most countries can read and write. Their sphere is still for the most part within the home. They have not in any broad sense made their voice heard in politics. This is, in the opinion of many Westerners, a lamentable state of affairs. But even more lamentable, I think, is the assumption that illiteracy among Asian women means that they are uneducated, that life in an Asian family has made them incompetent to handle their growing rights, or that inexperience in politics has left them without the interest or the ability to think in those terms.

It has been for centuries through the women that the great oral tradition of Asian culture has been handed down in the families. In the early years of their children the burden of education (not literacy) has rested on the mothers, has been maintained by their daughters, and the culture has been transmitted from generation to generation. They are, in a very real sense, educated.

If their sphere is the home (as it is with most of the women of the world), that has not been an entirely barren field either. With all its disadvantages and restrictions, the family system has for hundreds of years provided by custom and code security, companionship, and a dignified old age for its women. It has given a guarantee of emotional as well as economic protection, which in any society is an asset to be cherished. In Asia within her family a woman has a high measure of respect and responsibility as well as a training in duties and obligations. The large, close-knit families form a sort of miniature community. Several generations are represented, and the organization must be carefully maintained. Within that life a woman learns her position as a functioning and cooperative member of a social unit, first as a child, later as a daughter-in-law, eventually as the senior woman in the household. In that position it is the usual custom in much of Asia for her to handle the family finances and govern her small estate.

Since Asia is a poor continent, and since it is mostly an agricultural continent, the women to a large extent have worked with their men in the fields, have taken their share of the responsibility of keeping the family alive and looked after, and have over the years acquired a deep and important knowledge of the basic necessities of life. They can build their own houses, weave the cloth to

clothe themselves, grow their food, and educate their children. They have dealt in the realities for so long that they are strong, adult, and responsible human beings. It is with this human material that the planners for the future of Asia and the leaders of the present have to deal.

IN THE PAST generation the changes in the status of women everywhere in the world, and most dramatically in Asia, have advanced to a new phase.

It is a relatively short time since women began to enter the field of public affairs, politics, and professions even in the Western world. In Asia many of the changes arrived with considerably less fuss than they did elsewhere. In every Asian country women have the vote, the same political freedoms as men, and the right to enter the various professions. Public life for those that wish to enter it is by no means closed to them.

During the last twenty years Asian women have shown that they are quite competent to handle the new duties and privileges that new ideas and opportunities have brought them. Asia has produced women leaders in government such as the great Socialist Mrs. Kato in Japan, or Mrs. Santoso of Indonesia, women ambassadors such as Mrs. Pandit, social reformers and revolutionaries such as Mme. Sun Yat-sen, women poets and politicians such as Mrs. Naidu of India, along with many hundreds of lesser known but important and active women. Another is Mrs. Kamila Devi, one of

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the outstanding leaders of the cooperative movement in India.

The last generation has also brought to Asia some of the most effective and widespread women's movements of the world. The All-India Women's Conference, with a membership of a quarter of a million, concerns itself largely with social welfare and medical and educational work, and has branches in every province of India. *Kowani,* the federation of Indonesian women's groups, has a membership of half a million, and their work has an even wider scope than that of the All-India Women's Conference. The greatest attention of their members is concentrated on educational projects, but that in turn has drawn them into politics. Their part in Indonesia's struggle for independence was an important one. After the first Dutch police action in 1947 when the schools were closed the women had not only to try to keep alive some sort of education for the children, but also to organize the secondary school pupils to do welfare work for the Student Army, which consisted mostly of university boys.

Now that Indonesia is independent *Kowani* continues its political work on a different level. Its more recent programs are concerned with spreading political knowledge among the women of Indonesia and explaining to them the rights and duties which accompany political freedom. Increasingly throughout Asia the recognition and use of political freedom is spreading.

There are, of course, areas of Asia where neither a struggle for independence nor an economic necessity has operated to draw women into public life. Perhaps the best example of such a situation is Siam. When I was in Bangkok I had occasion to interview one of the leaders of the Siamese women's activities, Princess Aditya. She was much amused at being described as a "leader" because, she told me, there really was no women's movement in Siam. The fact that Siamese women were given all constitutional rights under the 1932 constitution before they could ask for them means that there was "no sweetness in this victory. If there are no obstacles you remain soft." "We recognize the superiority of men," Princess Aditya said, "and since we are not deprived of our rights, what is there to fight for?"

There are no women in the Siamese house of representatives—as one politician said, "It is not a beauty parlor, why should there be women?" There are a few in government offices but they never become heads of sections. While there is an organized group of University Women, they concentrate on matters of culture. And as for the women in industry the small number that work in match or sugar factories and in the weaving industry never think of joining a union. In the home, however, the woman is supreme. She controls the money and makes most of the decisions concerning the children. As she grows older she is increasingly revered.

LIKE THE SIAMESE Women's Association, but on a much wider scale and with more drive, most of the educated women of Asia and the organizations to which they belong concern themselves in their work largely with the social rights of the women. For, while their political rights were claimed and accorded with amazingly little antagonism and dispute, the social rights have required a constant and determined fight.

In India, for instance, the Hindu Law Committee began its work in 1941 to set up a Hindu Law Code which would give the women rights of inheritance that were not in ordinary law, the right of divorce under certain strict conditions, and would establish monogamy. This code was presented to the Indian legislature in 1949 and met with severe opposition. Naturally the six women in Parliament backed it strongly, and they were in turn supported by various women's organizations which carried on propaganda for the adoption of the Code. The objections offered in the legislature were on grounds of religion, on the fact that the new inheritance laws would split up family property, and even on the grounds of modesty. So far out of over a hundred clauses only a couple have been passed, although some of the provinces have, individually, been more progressive, and the bill remains before Parliament.

A similar situation was described to me by Mrs. Santoso, Cabinet Secretary of the Republican Government in Indonesia. Trained as a lawyer, Mrs. Santoso practised in Jakarta, specializing in the laws of divorce and inheritance for women. Her interest in law stemmed from her knowledge of the abuse of women's rights under Islam in Java. Even the Islamic divorce laws were not in practice upheld. When she began her work she met with considerable opposition from the orthodox people and the priests—especially in her work on divorce cases.

Now, partly due to her efforts, the Ministry of Religion is trying to persuade the priests to adopt a more liberal attitude, and Mrs. Santoso con-

Kamila Devi—". . . outstanding leader."

—*Acme.*

Shizue Kato—". . . quite competent."

—*Acme.*

Maria Santoso—". . . liberal attitude."

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tinues to work for broader social rights for women.

The only Asian country in which women have acquired these rights easily and quickly has been Japan. There the occupation government gave the women by law equal rights of inheritance with men, where previously only the eldest son inherited property, Further, a woman can keep her property after marriage instead of being compelled to turn it over to her husband. She has been given not only the right of divorce, but can also initiate the divorce proceedings on grounds of adultery. Significantly enough, this was one of the few innovations which the Japanese men, who had accepted so many occupation changes with such docility, protested. The opposition was fierce, but the laws were passed.

OF COURSE, between the legal rights and the accepted practice there is a long and difficult road, but at least the pattern is being set in the different Asian societies. It is perhaps too much to ask that the older generation be expected to change their way of life and their outlook so radically and so suddenly. But there is much evidence to show that new rights and freedoms will be intelligently and effectively used by the generation that is now in its twenties and will soon be taking an important place in the progress of their nations.

These are girls who have grown up in a period of such tension and trouble for their continent that inevitably they have been drawn into the general unrest and the desire to help in the advance of their nations. Most of the countries of Asia have been engaged either in a fight against foreign imperialism or in civil war and interior struggles. Usually, beginning with the students, the women, too, have been stirred to some form of action. Throughout the Chinese Revolution, in the Indian and Indonesian agitations for independence, and still in Indo-China, the girls as well as the boys have been deeply involved in political activity and are much more concerned with the needs and struggles of their nations than their counterparts in the West. They take the responsibility of being students very seriously, and feel that as a part of an articulate minority they must take their part in the affairs of their country.

In almost any Asian country the students developed the habit of using their vacations as a time to go to the villages and the countryside and spread an interest in and knowledge of the ideology and the political

(*Continued on page 62*)

Books on Asia

(A checklist of volumes published since 1949)

ASIA IN GENERAL

ASIA'S LANDS AND PEOPLES. By George B. Cressey. McGraw-Hill, $9. (See page 47.)
HALF OF ONE WORLD. By Foster Hailey. Macmillan, $3.
NO PEACE FOR ASIA. By Harold R. Isaacs. Macmillan, $3.50.
THE SITUATION IN ASIA. By Owen Lattimore. Little, Brown, $2.75.
FERMENT IN THE FAR EAST. By Mary A. Nourse. Bobbs-Merrill, $3.75.
EAST OF HOME. By Santha Rama Rau. Harper, $3.
THE STATE OF ASIA. Edited by Lawrence K. Rosinger. Knopf, $6. (See page 46.)
COLLISION OF EAST AND WEST. By Herrymon Maurer. Regnery, $4.50.

RUSSIA AND ASIA

RUSSIA'S RACE FOR ASIA. By George Creel. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.75.
THE RISE OF RUSSIA IN ASIA. By David J. Dallin. Yale, $5.
SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE FAR EAST. By David J. Dallin. Yale, $5.
AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE FAR EAST. By Pauline Tompkins. Macmillan, $5.

JAPAN

JAPAN: ENEMY OR ALLY? By W. Macmahon Ball. John Day, $3.
THE RIDDLE OF MACARTHUR. By John Gunther. Harper, $2.75.
THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. By Edwin O. Reischauer. Harvard, $4.
THE WESTERN WORLD AND JAPAN. By G. B. Sansom. Knopf, $6.
FAILURE IN JAPAN. By Robert B. Textor. John Day, $3. (See page 48.)
JAPAN SINCE PERRY. By Chitoshi Yanage. McGraw-Hill, $6.
KAKEMONO: A SKETCH BOOK OF POSTWAR JAPAN. By Honor Tracy. Coward-McCann, $3. (See page 56.)

KOREA

THE EPIC OF KOREA. By A. Wigfall Green. Public Affairs Press, $2.50.
KOREA TODAY. By George M. McCune and Arthur L. Grey, Jr. Harvard, $5.
WHY WAR CAME IN KOREA. By Robert T. Oliver. Fordham, $2.95.

CHINA

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD. By Jack Belden. Harper, $5.
CHINA'S RED MASTERS. By Robert S. Elegant. Twayne, $3.50. (See page 43.)
THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. By John K. Fairbank. Harvard, $3.75.
THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By Harold R. Isaacs. Stanford, $5.
PROFILE OF RED CHINA. By Lynn and Amos Landman. Simon & Schuster, $3.50.
LOST PEACE IN CHINA. By George Moorad. Dutton, $3.
TWO KINDS OF TIME. By Graham Peck. Houghton, Mifflin, $4.
CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO. By Benjamin Schwartz. Harvard, $4.50.
THE CHINESE CONQUER CHINA. By Anna Louise Strong. Doubleday, $2.75.
THE CHINA STORY. By Freda Utley. Regnery, $3.50.
NEW CHINA: THREE VIEWS. By Otto B. van der Sprenkel and others. John Day, $3. (See page 42.)

SOUTHEAST ASIA

SOCIAL FORCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Cora Du Bois. Minnesota, $2.
OUT OF EXILE. By Soetan Sjahrir. John Day, $3.
THE LEFT WING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Sloane, $4.
THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By H. J. Van Mook. Norton, $3.75.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

HALFWAY TO FREEDOM. By Margaret Bourke-White. Simon & Schuster, $3.50.
IN THE PATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By George Catlin. Regnery, $3.50. (See page 45.)
THE LIFE OF MAHTMA GANDHI. By Louis Fischer. Harper, $5.
THE COMMONWEALTH IN ASIA. By Sir Ivor Jennings. Oxford, $2.50. (See page 44.)
PAKISTAN, THE HEART OF ASIA. By Liaquat Ali Khan. Harvard, $3.
INDIA SINCE PARTITION. By Andrew Mellor. Praeger, $2.50. (See page 00.)
INTERVIEW WITH INDIA. By John Frederick Muehl. John Day, $3.50.
INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER. By Jawaharlal Nehru. John Day, $4.
INDIA AFIRE. By Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. John Day, $4. (See page 44.)
INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. Macmillan, $2.75.
INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON. Edited by W. Norman Brown. Cornell, $3.

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The Japanese State of Mind

INA TELBERG

UNLIKE many of my friends, I have always had a great respect for Japanese realism. It began with my early schooling in Nagasaki, stayed with me all through the war, and has recently been strengthened by the pertinent and searching questions asked of me by visiting Japanese intellectuals. By realism, so far as the Japanese are concerned, I mean a surface adaptability to new circumstances which involves little or no change in any of the fundamental values. This fortitude in accepting a new reality, and an infinite patience in adjusting to a new set of circumstances and of learning new techniques, have always appeared to me to characterize Japanese strength and that particular combination of rigidity and resilience which has given Japanese culture the survival quality that it has been proved to possess.

Now that six years have elapsed since V-J Day, and the shock of the surrender and of the initial stages of alien occupation has lost some of its sting, several distinct trends are discernible in Japan's literary and intellectual world, as well as in its social and political thinking. A close scrutiny of the Japanese radio broadcasts, of the Japanese press, of the content of Japan's literary output, of films and theatrical productions, and of the character of the foreign film and fiction which is most popular among the Japanese—all this reveals the reemergence of that capacity to appraise reality correctly which on all but a very few occasions has made Japan survive major disasters as well as her recent history has shown her to do.

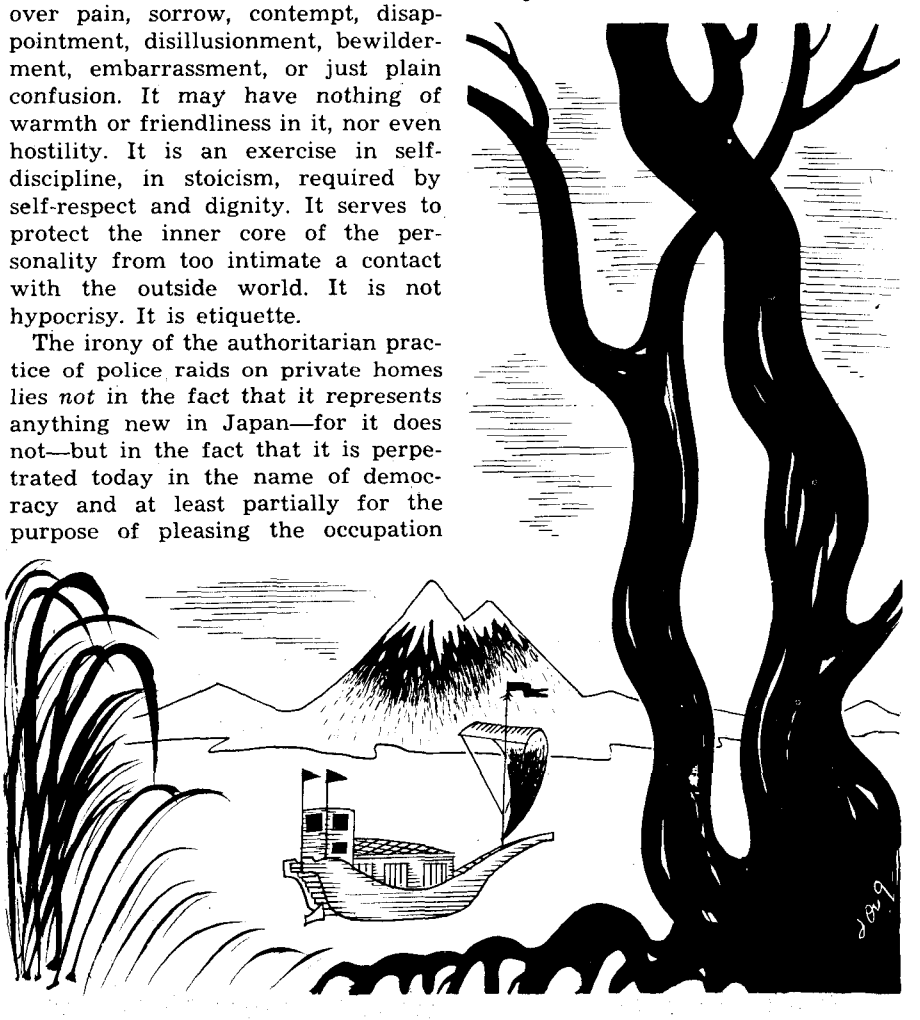
The grief, despair, and escapism of the first two postwar years have been gradually giving way to a reappraisal of the recent past, the will to build anew, and a great patience in dealing with the occupation authorities. The latter has been particularly necessary for, unlike the conquerors of old, we proceeded to occupy the country not merely for the purpose of disarming it or exacting reparations but with the aim of remodeling its entire pattern of living after our own image. In the words of one British observer, "Neither religion, nor art, nor press, nor education, nor law, nor family custom, nothing was to escape the fatherly attention of the invader . . . a method at once softer and more profoundly cruel than any which had previously been tried."

The habitual Japanese quality of *enryo*, or reserve, has been of particular assistance here, for it permits a punctilious obedience to the wishes of the superior authority without necessity for disclosure of one's deeper feelings. The famous "polite smile" of the Japanese is the armor worn over pain, sorrow, contempt, disappointment, disillusionment, bewilderment, embarrassment, or just plain confusion. It may have nothing of warmth or friendliness in it, nor even hostility. It is an exercise in self-discipline, in stoicism, required by self-respect and dignity. It serves to protect the inner core of the personality from too intimate a contact with the outside world. It is not hypocrisy. It is etiquette.

The irony of the authoritarian practice of police raids on private homes lies *not* in the fact that it represents anything new in Japan—for it does not—but in the fact that it is perpetrated today in the name of democracy and at least partially for the purpose of pleasing the occupation authorities. This invasion of the citizens' privacy not only constitutes a perpetuation of the police state procedures but also supplies a poignant illustration of what lip service to a foreign concept can do in an essentially totalitarian culture, or at least in one where the term "democracy" has been quite differently used, if used at all.

Japanese radio entertainment discloses the same mélange of the old and the new which is found in the news broadcasts. Programs like "FBI in War and Peace" alternate with "The Story of Japan" and Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 1. The first gives a picture of American efficiency which the Japanese would do well to learn, while the second is a nostalgic panorama of Japan through the ages, interspersed with old Japanese martial tunes.

IN THE literary field three trends have characterized Japanese postwar writing. Immediately after the war escapist literature, including the de-



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tective story in the manner of the American whodunit, had held sway. One of its most able exponents has been Rampo Edogawa, who heads the Japan Mystery Writers' Club. It is not improbable that if he is translated into English he may enjoy here some of the popularity that the French Georges Simenon has had.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the release from prison of the Communist and Socialist writers jailed since 1936 there appeared in 1946 a considerable crop of what the Japanese call "leftist and proletarian literature." These are stories and novels dealing with the themes of class struggle and of the exploitation of the masses by the *Zaibatsu* (Big Business). The authors' experiences, however, did not reflect the immediate Japanese reality or the most recent and painful past—which these writers spent in prison. It is little wonder, therefore, that in spite of an outburst of temporary popularity such fiction soon ceded first place to what I would like to call the new Japanese psychological and realistic novel and memoir.

This is represented by a group of young writers who have become popular primarily since the war. A great deal of this is war literature. In fact, only Russia and the United States can equal Japan in the volume of literature dealing with the last war. Much of this is simple description of the daily life of soldiers at the front, prisoners-of-war in captivity, or civilians at home. There is an echo here of Hino Ashihei, whose realistic descriptions of the war in China had made such a hit during the war. But also there is here a new and serious attempt to submit to a sociological and psychological analysis both the recent past and the confusing present. True to the Japanese tradition of introspection, there is still a much greater emphasis on the inner experiences of the individual and much less space is given to the overt happenings of life than a Western reader is accustomed to see in literature. The introspective quality is the heritage the new Japanese writers owe to the past. The new in this heritage, however, is the psychoanalytic element, whereby the relationships most sacred to the traditional Japanese mind, such as those between parents and offspring, are beginning to be submitted to some sort of analysis. I say "some sort" because such analyses as have appeared are still of the most feeble and tentative nature, in fact are barely whisperings of the possibility, only the possibility, that parent-child relationships may be subject to dissection, and that so may also be the traditional values of filial loyalty, family obligations, and a subjection of self to a prescribed pattern.

Representative of the new realistic fiction are such works as Ishikawa's "Reeds That Sway in the Wind," Shiga's "Pilgrimage of the Dark Night," Tamura's "Gates of the University," and Dr. Takashi Nagai's many works. Of these younger writers Dr. Nagai is perhaps one of the more interesting. A physician who

served with the Army in China and Manchuria, he lost his wife in the atom bomb raid on Nagasaki, was wounded there himself, and had only begun writing after the surrender. His "Bells of Nagasaki" and "That Which Never Dies" are rooted in his own inner experiences. He is a devout Catholic.

In the memoir and non-fiction field a recent best seller has been Masanobu Tsuji's "10,000 Miles Undercover," also known as "Free After 3,000 Miles." Colonel Tsuji, who was Chief-of-Staff of the Japanese Army in Bangkok, describes his adventures in escaping arrest by the British, disguised as a Buddhist monk. The book deals with his undercover activities in China and Southeast Asia and covers almost as wide a field as the three-volume prewar publication of the notorious Black Dragon Society of Japan, "Toa Senkaku Shishi Kiden," which immortalizes the activities since the beginning of the century of the Black Dragon members who engaged in espionage and propaganda for the cause of East Asian freedom from Western colonialism.

Among other biographical and autobiographical works outstanding in popularity have been "Notes by Students Who Died in the War," which was screened in the summer of 1950 as "Listen to the Voice of the Ocean"—a tragic story of young lives wasted in the war; "Beyond the Urals," the memoirs of sixteen college students who were in the Soviet Union as prisoners-of-war; and Sakamachi's "Prisoner-of-War No. 1," the story of captivity in the United States. For a student of contemporary cultures the last two are interesting in depicting Japanese reactions to the Soviet Union and the United States respectively. Unflattering as it may seem to us, incomprehensible as it may appear to many, it is nevertheless true that, admiring and envious as the Japanese may be of us, fearful and resentful as they may be of the Russians, it is still the latter and not the former that they appear both to understand better and to feel more at ease with—on an individual, face-to-face basis. A Japanese peasant or worker or soldier has had much more in common with his Russian counterpart than with any American of the same occupation. Subservience to the state, a low standard of living, disregard for individual happiness, acceptance of suffering as the inevitable part of life, and a subjugation of self to group requirements—these tend to produce a certain similarity of character and are a far cry from the well-dressed, well-fed, jeep-driving or automobile-owning American soldier, worker, or farmer with a feeling for "an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness".

Perhaps the most revolutionary of the new books, in its daring to dissect a traditionally sacred relationship, has been Mrs. Isoko Hatano's "Shonenki," variously translated as "Boyhood" and "Adolescence." It is a series of letters between mother and son and has a distinctly Freudian flavor. Although recently made into a movie, the unreadiness of Japan to accept even this mild form of analysis is manifested by the many and bitter criticisms of both the book and the film.

WHILE MOST of the postwar Japanese writing takes considerable pains to be overtly sympathetic to American views, such sympathy does not imply forsaking any of the deeply-rooted indigenous values which are so much a part of Japanese life as for the Japanese themselves to be hardly conscious of them. By such values, I mean, for example, the definition of strength as the capacity to conform rather than to rebel; the strong hierarchical arrangement of society, whereby even within each individual family unit every member has a prescribed status; the stress on patience rather than initiative; the submission of self to the needs of the

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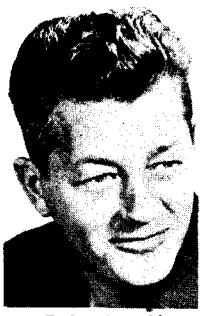
Renaissance in Many Tongues

WALLACE STEGNER



—Roland Wolfe.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *In the nascent literature of the Philippines there is a conflict similar to that found in India, Pakistan, and Indonesia. This is the conflict between the native, indigenous languages and the imported European languages of a colonial past. In which should the writer express himself? Generally speaking, his heart responds to the native tongue, his mind to the European. Asian writers will have to solve this dilemma before a vital Asian literature can make real headway. How it affects writing in the Philippines is described in the following article by Wallace Stegner, professor of English at Stanford University and author of several novels, who toured in Asia earlier this year under a Rockefeller Foundation grant to promote literary contacts between America and Asia.*

A FILIPINO writer recently said to me: "In America you have only to write your story when you sit down. Here when we sit down to write we are always conscious that we are creating a language, a culture, a tradition, a publishing business, and a reading public. None of them yet exists."

He exaggerated, but he wasn't talking nonsense. After four hundred years of colonialism under two masters the Philippines shows all the classic symptoms of a cultural inferiority complex. Humility and pretentiousness, imitativeness and rebellious extravagance, oddly intermingle. For in spite of its political emancipation the Philippines is still in effect an economic and cultural dependency of the United States. This is a fact; it should not be said as an accusation, for it stems from persistent colonial habits, the clash and half-fusion of cultures, the wreckage and demoralization left by the war, the survival of landlord economics, the lack of self-sufficiency even in food, the still widespread illiteracy, and the dislocations that have resulted from applying American-style education to a feudal and even primitive society.

Filipino literature fairly represents the nation in that it is new, untried, uncertain. It, too, is still largely dependent on the United States, but its dependence is less often marked by the cynicism that permeates political and business circles in the Philippines. It is an underprivileged child and perhaps in some ways an ill-advised one, but not a spoiled one, and if it could harness its talents more effectively it could be one of the most hopeful and exciting in Asia.

There are many writers, and this in itself is surprising, considering the difficulties in their way and the dubiousness of their rewards. Yet despite the considerable number of writers and the very real talent present among them, Manila's literary life is thin and a little desperate. Only a part-time professionalism is possible even for the best and most popular writers, and much of what passes for professionalism is hackwork. There is not yet any publishing business in the developed sense. The print shops which occasionally issue books have only two or three titles on their lists. Their costs are high, and they are likely to go out of business abruptly. The kind of enterprise that appeals to Filipino capital should pay off the original investment in a couple of years, and literature does not succeed on that scale. Even when books do get published the colonial complex leads some readers to look upon them as books that could not make the grade on the mainland, and to some extent they are right. If a Filipino writer has a chance to publish in the United States he very naturally jumps at it; those writers who have achieved an American audience—Jose Garcia Villa, Carlos Bulosan, N.V.M. Gonzales, Bienvenido Santos, and a few others—are envied and admired at home pretty much in proportion to their acceptance abroad.

MAGAZINES are not as scarce as publishers, but the only kind of magazine that publishes and pays for stories and poems is the weekly newspaper supplement, of which there are a half dozen in Manila. Among them they publish more than three hundred stories a year. All of Filipino writing revolves around them because it must. It is as if all American literature had to be funneled through Sunday supplements of a city like San Francisco.

This situation makes it easy to publish, hard to grow. The effect on current writing is described by A. V. H. Hartendorp, who as editor of the now-defunct *Philippine Magazine* acted as unofficial uncle to many budding authors. In his introduction to that fine collection of short stories, "Philippine Cross Section," Hartendorp remarks that editors of the newspaper magazines, pressed every week for copy, "accept about everything in the way of a 'story' that is submitted to them," and that even people with real capacity have "since the war been turning out a spate of slipshod and slapdash work. Some of our leading writers of the short story seem, in protest, to have given up writing for an undiscriminating press."

But if you give up writing for the undiscriminating press you give up writing. Manuel Viray, intense and widely read, one of the few critics in the Philippines—a "dismounted" critic, since he has no journal to write for—reviewed recent Filipino short-story writing and gave two reasons for the weakness in structure he found everywhere. One was "an eagerness to take advantage of an editor's len-

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iency and an anxiety to collect cash." The other was "an inherent laziness about rewriting and an incurable inclination to leave the material at once."

Perhaps the laziness is not incurable; perhaps it results from lack of any discriminating magazine serving a discriminating public. One quality magazine with prestige, though it paid less than the supplements or paid not at all, would give an immense lift to Filipino writers, not only by providing an outlet for the most serious work but by offering shelter to a forming critical tradition that is badly needed.

No country can have publications unless it has a public to buy and read them, and this public the Philippines will develop only by the slow processes of education. Even the most optimistic guesses give the nation less than 50 per cent literacy, and some of that literacy is surely of the kind that can barely sign its own name. Moreover, the small book-buying and book-reading public is split between English and Tagalog.

Spanish persists only in place names and personal names, but the English which was well on the way to replacing it has been challenged by the "national" tongue, now the language of the schools. For literature as for life the change has had confusing results, because languages don't always behave as politicians tell them to, and neither do people. Tagalog is as foreign to several million Ilocanos, Visayans, Moros, and others as English is. There were few books in it, and it had no tradition as a literary language. Texts and translations have been rushed out, and as of 1951 some writers said to be competent use Tagalog, but the more influential writers still write in English, and English has modified the Tagalog spoken on the streets to such an extent that even an untrained ear hears one English word in ten.

Linguistically, that is, the Philippines is pre-Chaucerian, so that a writer faces a hard choice. If he chooses Tagalog he imprisons himself in a little-known vernacular without tradition or standing in the world's letters, and without a body of readers that in the forseeable future will be large enough to support a professional writing class. The remote chance of being a Chaucer to his people is hardly enough to compensate for almost guaranteed obscurity in his lifetime. If he chooses English he gains an enormously wider potential audience and publishing market, but he gives up the tongue of his childhood (assuming that Tagalog *was* the tongue of his childhood) for a language unrelated to his emotional roots and foreign to his natural materials. Even so accomplished a writer in English as N. V. M. Gonzalez confesses a little ruefully that he still dreams in Tagalog.

Some Americans in the Philippines fear that English is slipping, both because of the political zeal for Tagalog and because during the war the teaching and even speaking of English was dangerous. A whole generation missed its chance to learn. Teachers available since the war, too, have been mainly Filipinos of the generation whose instruction was imperfect. The result is an English heavily-accented and difficult for an American ear—what purists would call a "corrupt" English.

BUT RADIO, plus the growing numbers of teachers brought in under Fulbright grants and in other ways, plus the wider use of recordings by teachers, can hardly fail to bend Filipino-English back toward the international norm. And the inescapable usefulness of English, especially in view of the continued dependence of the Philippines on the United States, will probably be more potent in the long run even than patriotism. It is a good guess that English will stick, that it will have its extreme dialectal variations gradually worn away by international friction, but that it will retain its legitimate local flavor and incorporate many vernacular words. It is also a good guess that the Filipino literature of the future will have to be considered a branch of English, or more properly of American.

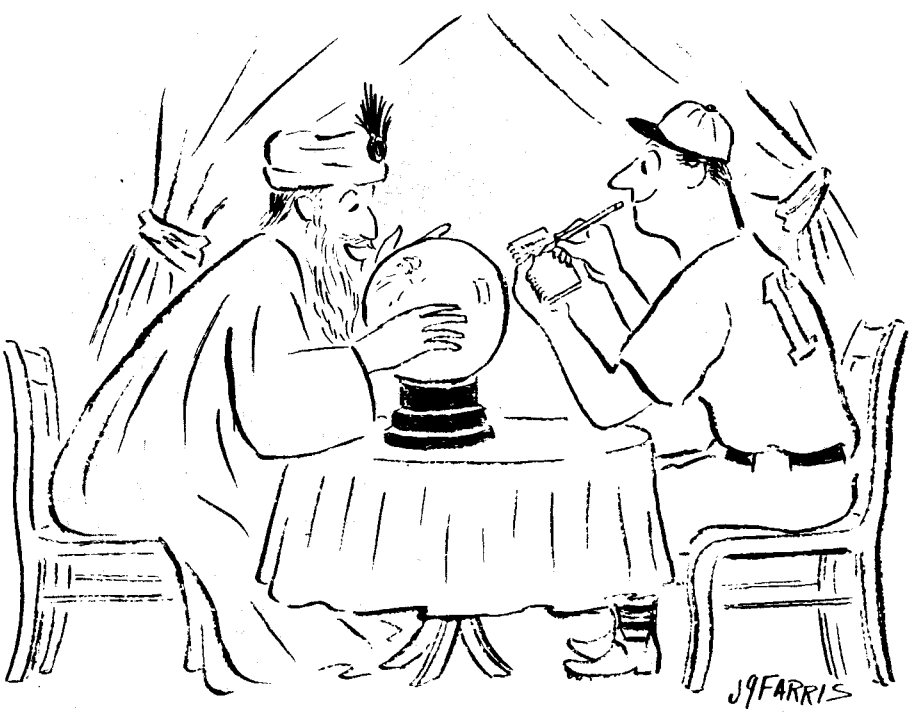
This should mean that American media of publication are freely open to Filipino writers. They are—but the competition is brutal. With his little bolo in hand, a Filipino story writer is asked to step out against the massed firepower of all the English-language writers in the world. Balked in his own country and at a disadvantage abroad, he must do the best he can against odds.

Fortunately, he has much of the essential equipment. Filipinos are a people with a gift for literature. They handle words with zest, they love the ring of a round phrase. Sometimes the result reads like a MacArthur communique, but surprisingly often it is real eloquence, even in a borrowed tongue. To match the gift of words there is enthusiasm, aspiration, ambition, and for material the diverse cultures of the islands that reach all the way from Igorot villages to Manila's elaborate modernity.

At the moment not much of their material comes out of Manila, and this is surprising since practically all the literary life is carried on there. Manila is big, changing, complex, a mixture of half-altered *barrio* and the latest gas-station American. Because it is difficult and troubling, most of the writers evade it; the material closest to their hearts lies in the villages, in the folkways of the provinces, back in the nostalgic bucolic world of Mindoro, Cebu, Ilocos, from which they come.

There is a basic irony in this that few writers seem to realize. Touched by the fierce white-collarism that

(*Continued on page 52*)



". . . a slow curve. His next pitch will be high and fast. Then . . ."

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ASIAN HOPES AND FEARS

—*Unations.*

". . . in securing both political freedom and economic development."

An Essay in Frankness

V. K. R. V. RAO

IT IS PERHAPS presumptuous to write on so ambitious a theme as Asia's hopes and fears with respect to the United States. But I have visited the United States on more than eight occasions during the last six years, and have spent altogether more than fifteen months in that country. I therefore claim a certain measure of understanding of the mind, sentiments, and way of life of its great people. This has given me confidence to believe that Asian-American understanding and friendship is not only possible but also entirely easy to achieve, provided only that the two peoples speak to each other frankly, recognize and welcome points of identity, and dispassionately seek explanations for differences in attitudes. It is with a view to making my personal contribution to this Asian-American understanding that I have indulged in this essay in frankness and ventured to interpret what I consider to be the basic attitude of the majority of the thinking section of the Asian public toward the United States.

To begin with, Asian and Indian sentiment towards the United States has always been one of admiration. To the Indian especially, struggling for political freedom from Britain and angry beyond measure at the constant reiteration of the British conquest of India which he was compelled to study in his schools, the history of the revolt of the American colonies and their successful achievement of political freedom from the British was a continuous source of balm and of inspiration. The people of the United States represented to him and to his fellow-Asians the world's most successful fighters for freedom and independence from colonial rule. The subsequent history of the United States, the almost aggressive aloofness she displayed from the affairs of the colonizing and imperialist continent of Europe, the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine, which closed the door to European adventures in the South American continent, the civil war that she waged in order that the nation should not be "half-slave and half free," and the constant sympathy

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which her people showed towards the attempts of colonial peoples abroad to cast off their imperialist yoke—all these established her in the eyes of India and of Asia as a freedom-loving, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist power. This impression was further reinforced by the attitude of the United States to the Philippines and the contrast it provided to the relations which the European powers had with their colonial possessions and dependent territories. Moreover, American interest in China and the feelings of friendship she displayed for that great and ancient people of the Orient stamped her in Asian minds as a country that liked and respected Asia and was willing to help in the restoration of her greatness. In addition, the United States was alone among the great powers in the interwar period which appeased neither Germany nor Japan in their imperialist adventures. Finally—and this, above all, was responsible for producing in Indian minds friendship for the American people—the United States was alone among the independent nations of the world actively to sympathize with the Indian freedom movement and attempt to bring pressure, however unsuccessfully, on the British Government to release its hold on India and allow its people to govern themselves.

IT IS TRUE that there was one thing about the United States that did not appeal to the Indian people and, in fact, was definitely disliked. This was the treatment of the American Negro. Reports of racial discrimination, including sometimes lynchings and mob violence, frequently appeared in the Indian press and roused a good deal of criticism, especially when the Indians were themselves the victims of racial discrimination in South Africa and were therefore particularly prone to be excited by accounts of "white supremacy." Nevertheless, the thinking Indian knew that there was a vast difference between racial discrimination in South Africa and that in the United States. In the former case white supremacy was a part of the official doctrine, the only differences among political parties being about the extent to which it should be enforced in all walks of life; in the latter case a civil war had been fought to abolish Negro slavery, racial equality was the official doctrine, and considerable efforts were being made by leaders and governments of both political parties to eliminate discriminatory practices and enlarge the sphere of public practice of the constitutional right to equality of all American citizens. Moreover, the Indian was himself living in a glass house. It was only recently and thanks to Mahatma Gandhi that he had awaked as a nation to the horror of the indigenous discrimination prevalent in his own country under the name of untouchability, and he was well aware of the enormous difficulties that existed in the way of the abolition of such discriminatory practice. He could, therefore, understand the situation in the United States. I venture to assert, therefore, that the Negro question did not result in any material weakening of the friendship and admiration that the Indian people felt for those of the United States as an anti-imperialistic and freedom-loving people.

While the basic attitude of the Asian peoples towards the United States was thus one of friendship, there were no special hopes or expectations that they entertained from that country; nor of course were there any fears that they associated with her growing economic and political strength. The isolationist policy of the United States belied the possibilities both of hope and of fear as far as India and Asia were concerned. The Second World War, however, with the accompanying collapse of American isolationism and the emergence of the United States as the world's strongest economic and military power, altogether altered the picture. The enormous increase witnessed in the productivity of American industry and agriculture created a profound impression as to America's economic strength. President Roosevelt's proclamation of the Four Freedoms and the declaration of the Atlantic Charter created the confidence that this newly discovered strength would be used by the United States not for selfish or aggressive ends but for idealistic and constructive purposes aimed at extending to the whole world, including Asia, what men of vision everywhere had come to regard as the right way of living. The enormous drains which the United States permitted on her national income and the willingness with which her people put up with additional taxation in order to finance this drain confirmed the feeling that the United States was prepared, at the expense of her own standard of living, to use her economic strength for assisting in the maintenance of freedom and facilitation of economic recovery in other parts of the world. Thus, the world as a whole, and certainly Asia including India, began to entertain great expectations from the emergence of this new world power with its constructive and positive outlook on global economic and political affairs, and Asian eyes turned hopefully to the United States for help in securing both political freedom and economic development.

Unfortunately, the postwar history of the United States did nothing to encourage these hopes or fulfill these expectations. To begin with, there was too much talk in the United States about the racial and religious kinship of its people with those of Western Europe. America became Europe-conscious; and leaders of American political parties started talking in terms of a union of English-speaking peoples, the unity of Christian civilization, and the creation of an Atlantic

". . . Asian eyes turned hopefully."

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community, all of which came somewhat as a shock to the peoples of Asia who had, perhaps foolishly, regarded the American people as apart from the people of Europe and, in fact, holding the scales not merely even but actually a little in favor of themselves. Now, to their horror, they found that America was unprepared to throw its weight on the side of freedom and democracy for the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa who had so long suffered under European domination, And the fear grew in Asian minds that under the influence of western Europe America was gradually losing its original revolutionary and anti-imperialist traditions. Asians feared that the so-called Atlantic community might, in the ultimate analysis, prove to be but another attempt at white domination of the colored peoples of the world, an attempt, moreover, that might achieve greater success than had previous attempts in that direction by the uncoordinated and, in fact, competitive action of the peoples of Western Europe. Moreover, Asians were profoundly disturbed by the attitude taken by the American Administration to the recognition of the new Chinese Government. If America could continue to recognize the Government of the Soviet Union and those of its so-called satellites in Eastern Europe, if it could recognize the Government of Fascist Spain, if it could encourage the formation of conservative, if not reactionary, administrations in Western Germany and Japan, if it could recognize governments in the Middle East and in South America that came into power on the basis of violent revolts and internal civil conflicts, it was difficult to understand why she could not recognize the government that had come into power in China as the result of a successful civil war and in replacement of a government that was admittedly inefficient, corrupt, and reactionary. True, the new Chinese Government was exceptionally friendly to the Soviet Union, with whom America was not on friendly terms, but surely this could be no reason for denying its existence as an independent government or refraining from giving it recognition. Asian minds were not impressed by the American argument that the Peking Government was a Soviet satellite. Asia knew that the one fact that stood out from Chinese history was its antipathy to foreign fetters, and that the Chinese people would never become the satellites of any other nation, however powerful or friendly it might be. And Asians felt that this ought to be obvious to the American people who of all the white peoples knew the Chinese best.

While thus Asian hopes from America in the political field have given place to Asian fears, there has been no American action in the economic field that would offset this trend and feed Asian hopes for friendly and large-scale use of America's economic strength. On the contrary, in the economic field as well, Asia is aghast at the concentration of America's eco-

nomic aid in Western Europe. The bulk of UNRRA funds were expended in Europe; the whole of the Marshall Plan was directed towards the economic recovery of Western Europe; and American help flows once again to Europe not only to aid its rearmament, but also towards easing the domestic economic consequences of the American and European rearmament programs, even though the consequences of this program are worldwide and tend to press even more strongly on the economics of the much less equipped countries of Asia. Yet, if Western Europe with its technical know-how required only material aid from America, Asia without any technical know-how and without any material equipment required both technical know-how and material aid from America. But, due to reasons not understandable by Asia, America's economic philanthropy and self-sacrifice have been concentrated on aid to Western Europe. Under the circumstances, the suspicion has grown in Asian minds that the United States is perhaps not interested in Asian economic development as such or in the raising of the living standards of its peoples, but regards these merely as planks in its foreign policy of building up not only a pro-American but an anti-Russian, now also anti-Chinese, world. To the hope that the Asian people had entertained that a non-isolationist and pro-Asian America would use its economic strength to help the peoples of Asia to build up their economies in freedom, both domestic and international, the cruel alternative of either no aid or aid with strings has come as a death blow.

AND YET I see no reason for despair. If Asian hopes from America were perhaps a little too far-fetched and took inconsiderable account of the basic constituents of human nature, Asian fears of America now current among her peoples are even more far-fetched, and in fact take negligible account of the essentially anti-imperialist, philanthropic, and peaceful traditions and sentiments of the American people. Asia must recognize America's kinship with Europe and, instead of deriding this legitimate sentiment as a token of racialism, rather ask that American influence should be actively exerted towards freeing Europe from its colonial traditions and anti-democratic practices. Asia must also understand the nature and working of American democracy. She must pay less attention to the speeches of Congressmen and Senators and the outpourings of some of the loudest-voiced American newspapers and more attention to the final legislative and administrative results that emerge from the long and violent discussions that precede them in the legislatures and newspapers of the United States.

At the same time, America must understand Asian psychology. The Asians have but recently won their freedom, and are jealous of any real or apparent infringements thereof. Their governments are faced by awakened peoples who clamor for economic improvement and are impatient to secure it. Asians have no desire to set up totalitarian regimes either of the left or of the right, but are anxious to prove themselves successful exponents of the art of political democracy. I venture, therefore, to put in a plea to my American friends that they exert themselves not only to get the power of their great Government used for ridding the world of its last vestiges of colonialism and racialism, but also to get it used for the sustaining and development of Asian economies without its involving any real or apparent strings. For securing Asian friendship America need not abandon Europe; nor, on the other hand, must she neglect Asia in favor of Europe. If thinking people in Asia and in the United States play their part I am confident that Asian-American friendship can not only be achieved to the full, but that it will become the cornerstone of world peace and prosperity.

V. K. R. V. Rao, professor of economics at the University of Delhi, India, has been a delegate to many international conferences.

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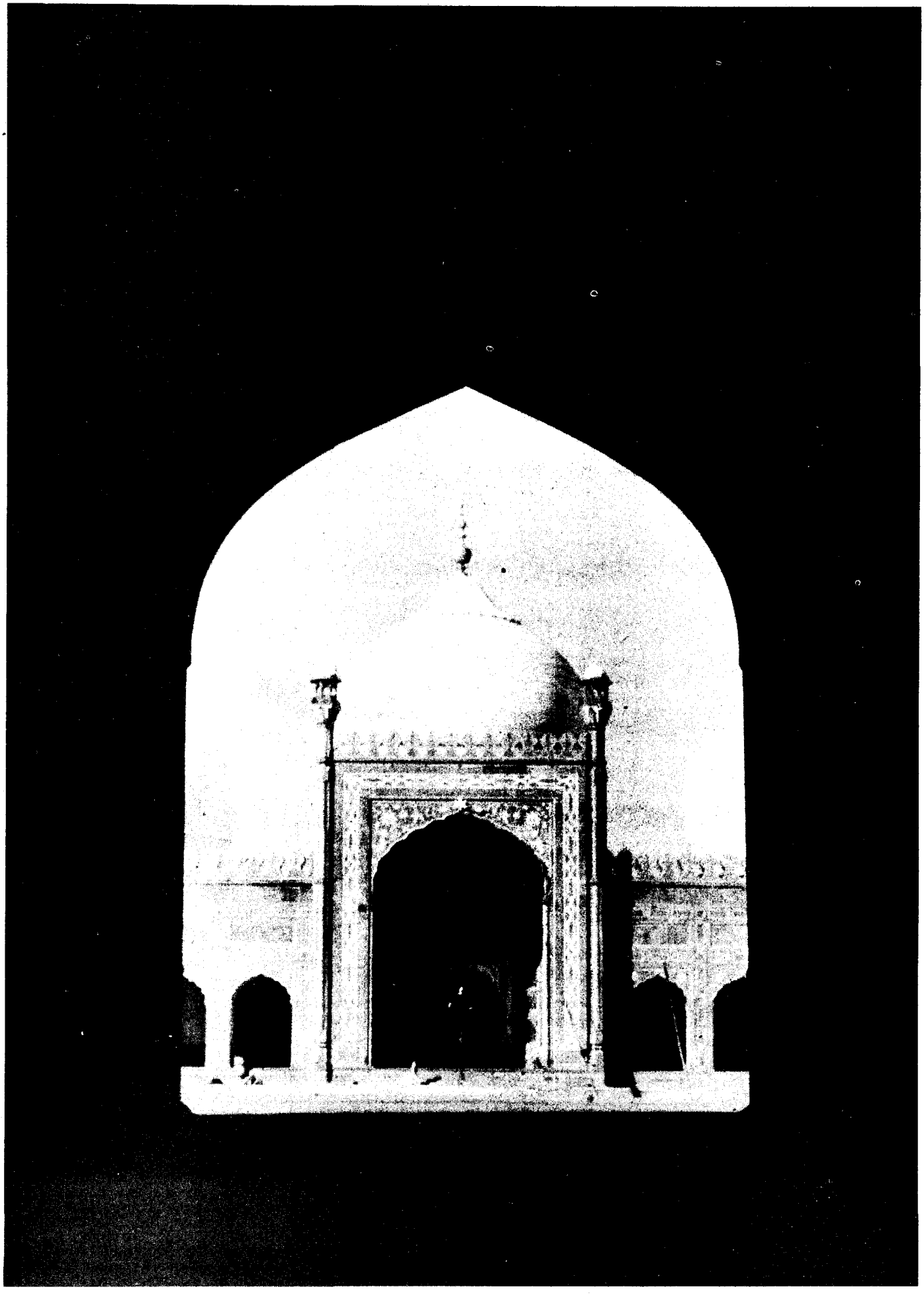

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The Role of Islam in Asia

ABDUL QAYYUM

THERE ARE nearly 300,000,000 Moslems in the world today, and they occupy an area of over 3,000,000 square miles. About fifty million Moslems are living in India, Albania, Russian Turkestan and Uzbekistan, Malaya, and Communist China. The rest of them are distributed as follows:

Country	*Population*	*Area (sq. miles)*
Pakistan	80,000,000	361,000
Indonesia	70,000,000	730,000
Turkey	21,000,000	400,000
Egypt	19,000,000	306,000
Iran	16,000,000	630,000
Afghanistan	12,000,000	255,000
Sau'di Arabia	6,500,000	1,000,000
Iraq	3,500,000	116,000
Syria	3,400,000	155,000
Lebanon	1,250,000	4,300
Jordan	1,100,000	4,200

The Western mind has perhaps not reacted to these figures. Nor has it registered the Islamic revival in recent times. Instead, there has been a tendency among Western observers to confuse Islam with Arab nationalism. This is quite understandable. It is only natural to identify Islam with the birthplace of its founder, Mohammed. Besides, the West has been encouraged in this erroneous tendency by the publicity received by the Arab countries following the break-up of the Ottoman Empire during World War I, and their occupation by Britain and France. The continuous struggle for freedom from British and French political and economic domination of what is loosely termed "the Arab world" has also resulted in world attention being focused on Arab nationalism to the exclusion of Islam.

It is not generally realized that over 500,000 Moslems from all over the world meet every year in Mecca to perform Haj (pilgrimage), that the majority of these Moslems are not Arabs, but Indonesians, Pakistanis, Indians, and the rest, that the more deep the foreign penetration the greater is the opposition of the extremist Moslems such as the Sennusis of north-east Africa, the Moslem Brotherhood of Egypt, and the Fidayan-i-Islam of Iran, and that even Turkey, which until recently refused to allow religion to mingle with politics, is showing a marked inclination towards Islamic revival.

Perhaps the most significant event in the Moslem world is the emergence of Pakistan as the largest Islamic state. Pakistan did not come into being because its inhabitants had a sense of racial or national identity. It came into being because the people of Pakistan had a sense of religious identity. It is equally significant that within two years of Pakistan's existence an International Islamic Economic Conference was held in Karachi with a view to coordinating the economic policies of the different Moslem countries of the world. This was followed by the World Moslem Conference, held in Karachi in February 1951. The object of this Conference, which was attended by delegates from sixteen independent countries, was not a strip more or less of Palestine but a reorientation of the way of life pursued by the followers of Islam and their political set-up.

At this stage it is necessary to describe in detail what is meant by an Islamic state, because those unfamiliar with the teachings of Islam are apt to confuse an Islamic state with a theocracy. A theocracy is a kingdom of God where authority vests in specially ordained priests who exercise that authority on behalf of God. Islam does not recognize priesthood, and there is no place in Islamic society for special "agents" of God to administer the law which expresses His will.

Sovereignty in an Islamic state is vested in the Moslem people guided by teachings of Islam. No particular class of people has been given the authority to interpret the teachings of Islam. The reason for that is that the growth of a class vested with sacerdotal authority or religious sanctity discourages the mass of the people from acquiring the true knowledge of the Faith. In the past the Moslem people elected a high executive called the Caliph to carry on the business of the state on their behalf. This executive was only an agent to carry out the will of the people. The people being Moslems naturally demanded that their affairs be conducted in accordance with their Islamic beliefs and convictions. In this context the people are the political sovereign in an Islamic state.

The legal sovereign in an Islamic state is the law of Islam called the "Shar," which consists of three main principles—two immutable, and one mutable. The immutable principles are the Koran—the holy book of the Moslems—and the "Hadith" of the Prophet, that is, the interpretation given by the Prophet to religious injunctions revealed in the Koran to him by God.

THE MUTABLE FACTOR in Islamic law is the interpretation of the principles of Islam by the application of human reason in different conditions. Thus while the two immutable factors have remained constant in the course of Islamic history, the one mutable factor has resulted in a corpus of man-made law varying in some degrees in different parts of the Moslem world.

The two immutable factors—belief in the oneness of God and in Mohammed as the Prophet, brotherhood of mankind, etc.—have contributed to the spiritual unity among the Moslem countries transcending all geographical barriers. It is interesting what an "outsider" has to say. Dr. Maude Royden observes in "The Problem of Palestine":

> The religion of Mahomet proclaimed the first real democracy ever conceived in the mind of man. His God is of such transcendal greatness that before him all differences were nought, and even the deep and cruel cleavage of color ceased to count. There are social ranks amongst Moslems as elsewhere but fundamentally, that is to say, spiritually all believers are equal, and this fundamental equality is not a fiction . . . The Moslem, black, brown, or

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white, alone finds himself accepted as a brother not according to his color but his creed.

The mutable factor enables Islam to become a live force, and saves it from becoming a dead, unprogressive, and static collection of injunctions and prohibitions. It enables the Moslems to seek new channels of thought and action, and give new interpretation at every stage of human development. At the same time Islam limits the field of human deliberation within the precincts of moral and spiritual righteousness as defined in the Koran and practised by the Prophet. But within these limitations it gives the human spirit the fullest freedom to find new methods of fulfilment in creative effort.

Political thinkers will naturally ask, what form of government does an Islamic state represent? Since sovereignty rests with the people themselves, an Islamic state is a democracy. The law of Islam, which is the legal sovereign, is subject to the interpretation which the entire Moslem population in an Islamic state is entitled to give. It is obvious, therefore, that it is only through an elected legislature, representing the people themselves, that deliberations on the interpretation of Islamic principles can be conducted. The legislature alone can speak for the people and accept on their behalf what seems most rational and proper out of the mass of argument and commentary putting forward different points of view. It is for the legislature to decide how to apply the principles of Islam to the needs of the community in varying circumstances.

What is the position of non-Moslem inhabitants of an Islamic state? This is a question for an answer to which we turn to both the immutable and the mutable factors in Islamic law. The Koran states: "There is no compulsion in religion." It was revealed to the Prophet to proclaim to the non-Moslems: "Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion." According to the "Hadith": "And behold! a bier passed by Muhammad, and he stood up; and it was said to him, 'This is the bier of a Jew.' He said, 'Was it not the holder of a soul?' "

Islam enjoins its followers not only to respect a non-Moslem's freedom of conscience, but to provide him with facilities to be governed by his own religious law. The interpretation of Islamic principles concerning non-Moslems is illustrated by the following reference in Hitti's "History of the Arabs": "Being outside the pale of Moslem law they (non-Moslems) were allowed the jurisdiction of their own canon laws as administered by the respective heads of their religious communities."

The Objectives Resolution forming the basis of Pakistan's constitution, for instance, states: "Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures: Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and depressed classes."

It is sometimes distressing to observe that only a disproportionately small number of people in the West knows the points of similarity among the People of the Book. Islam demands of its followers especial consideration towards the People of the Book. Says the Koran:

> And nearest among them in love to the Believers wilt thou find those who say, "We are Christians." Because amongst these are men devoted to learning, and men who have renounced the world, and they are not arrogant. And when they listen to the revelation received by the Apostle, thou wilt see their eyes overflowing with tears, for they recognize the truth. They pray, "Our Lord, we believe; write us down among the witnesses."

An examination of the role played by some of the important institutions of Islam in the life of the community will show its emphasis on the unity of mankind. Islam enjoins the organization of humanity as a single community. "And we have created you all from one breath of life," says the Koran. Thus the "non-material single unit of life current, of which individuals are a physical manifestation," is in Islam the basis of the unity of mankind. In the same way the growth and expansion of mankind proceeds on a unitary basis. "The creation and expansion of you all is like the creation and expansion of one single soul."

Islam seeks to bring mankind closer by the simple method of congregational prayers at which there is a collective affirmation and renewal of the pledge that we follow and believe in one God. The bonds of brotherhood between man and man are thus strengthened by the realization that humanity is a single creation of the Creator. The unity of mankind is reemphasized when Islam enjoins its followers that they make a proportionate and equitable contribution towards the common treasury of the society or community—the "Millat"—for the benefit of mankind.

WHILE ISLAM propounds the democratic principle "where none is denied the fruits of his efforts" it qualifies it further by directing those who "have" to provide opportunities for creative efforts to those who "have not," provided the latter have not "defaulted in their efforts." There are repeated references in the Koran to respect for private property and individual freedom—a principle that forms the core of Islamic ideology. "Poverty brings nothing but shame to man in both worlds: there is nothing for man but effort," says the Koran.

The author does not wish the reader to go away with the impression that Islamic ideology is being pursued by the Moslem countries today, or that since Islam enjoins unity of mankind there is no disunity among the Moslem people. The author is acutely conscious of the dynastic rivalries and petty national jealousies in the Moslem world. The separate development of each Moslem territory—Arabia in relative isolation, Iraq in semi-independence under British tutelage, Syria and the Lebanon under indirect French rule, Palestine under direct British control, Egypt under British occupation, Indonesia under Dutch rule, Iran under British economic control, and Pakistan, which at one time formed part of the British Indian Empire—produced in the course of history differences of outlook, culture, and political loyalty which accentuated the tendencies to disunity already present among the Moslem countries.

At the same time, it is difficult to absolve the West from its responsibility for seeking to widen the gulf among the Moslem countries instead of shortening it. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, for instance, after World War I, and its division into "spheres of interest" between Britain and France with the approval of the League of Nations, contributed vastly to the creation of a spiritual vacuum in the Arab world which was filled up partially with strong political rivalries among the dismembered units of the Ottoman Empire. Whether it was the Czarist Russian sponsored Moslem Conference in Kazan in 1906, the foundation of the Imperial German spon-

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sored Islamic Society in Berlin in 1911, the attempt by Benito Mussolini to pose as the Defender of Islam, or the hollow pretense of Adolf Hitler "to save the Arab Moslems from Jewish aggression," the pattern has been the same: each of the Great Powers has sought to exploit Moslem credulity to suit its own strategic plans.

An attempt was made during World War II to undo the damage. It dawned on Britain that a united Moslem world would be a more useful factor in world stability than a disunited one. On May 29, 1941, Mr. Anthony Eden, the then Foreign Minister of Great Britain, declared in a speech at the Mansion House that the British Government would give its support to "any scheme that commanded general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic, and political ties between the Arab countries." Four years later, on March 22, 1945, the Pact of the Arab League was signed in Cairo.

With most of the Moslem countries coming into their own, the long-standing resentment against foreign pressures is gradually dying out. There is growing recognition among them of the need for an alliance with the Western powers. They are showing a marked inclination to cooperate in common effort. They are beginning to realize that the small states have almost as great a stake in collective security as the great powers. An index to their international mental make-up can be found in the number of times they have aligned themselves on the side of the Western Powers during the United Nations deliberations.

In this context the Islamic revival in recent times is a welcome development. The author feels that there has been a turn of the tide, that there is a realization among the young intelligentsia in particular that Islamic ideology based firmly on democratic principles offers hope and salvation to the Moslem countries, that "the destiny of Islam is not in terms of geographical frontiers, but in terms of the mind and spirit."

While the Moslem world is thus engaged in heart-searching, and is seeking practical ways and means of strengthening the bonds of brotherhood among the Moslems, it is up to the leaders of nations in the West to help the Moslem countries to make up for centuries of backwardness in economic and material progress.

Abdul Qayyum has been lecturing on Islamic culture in the United States. He is now in England for a series of lectures before returning to his home in Lahore, Pakistan, where he is head of the Department of Journalism at Punjab University.

Portraits for the Future

(*Continued from page* 21)

cooperatively in this pattern or by force in the Russian way."

THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA AND INDIA

In the immediate future everyone interested in America-Indian friendship must work hard to help these two nations over certain obvious stumbling blocks. Relations may become quite strained, but that is the precise time when we must be most careful to preserve the basic understanding between the American and Indian people. To lose such understanding will be to lose India; losing India means losing Asia; and losing Asia means the creation of an Asia-Europe-Africa coalition encircling the United States and condemning us to such internal pressures that we should probably explode.

The danger spots are these. (1) The logic of Pakistan's claim for Kashmir is so apparent that in supporting that claim against India we could easily become involved in a war of recrimination far more serious than the Kashmir problem warrants. We must not disqualify ourselves in all of Asia simply because we agree with Pakistan on one immediate problem. It is entirely possible that within five years we shall side with India in some claim against Pakistan. We must foreswear the luxury of calling any nation all black or all white.

(2) Our decisions in Asia, made in the furtherance of our protection or national interest—and at the same time perhaps for the maximum good of Asians, too—may run head on into India's decisions on the same problems. This could happen, for example, over the question of seating Red China in the United Nations. When it happens let us remember with the severest intellectual restraint that we are against India's behavior on one problem, that India is against our behavior on one problem, and that when that problem has become ancient history the people of India and the people of America must still remain friends.

(3) It is quite likely that on several points India will vote against us in the United Nations. If this happens shortly after our delivery of wheat there will be a natural condemnation throughout America. But this should not be allowed to crystallize into a long-lasting enmity. That would be stupidity and folly both. We cannot buy India's votes with a few million tons of wheat and we should have no bargain if we did find a country whose honor was for sale so cheaply.

(4) Certain Indians, having won maturity through battling the British, now feel that to maintain their integrity they must lambaste the United States. Thus we inherit enmities that do not belong to us. Let's not take this too seriously. An Indian newspaperman told me, "Forget the stories you see in our papers. When a nation is number one it's got to get the brickbats. But that very fact proves that we know you're worth it."

(5) As Asian nations—India in particular—attain maturity they are going to ask increasingly embarrassing questions about America's handling of minority groups like the Negro. This is going to infuriate many Americans, but this happens to be a question in which all the colored peoples of the world are interested. Some decades ago the white people united in condemning India for burning widows alive on their husbands' funeral pyres. Quite properly and with no loss of dignity India had to bow to world public opinion. From today on world public opinion, especially Asian opinion, is going to be against certain American practices. Is there any informed American who resents this?

Most educated Indians know that America is essentially their friend. We must retain this friendship with India—as with all the peoples of Asia including the Chinese—for India and Asia are going to be swept by great political movements based on the people, and if we have lost contact with them we could well be engulfed.

James Michener is the author of "Tales of the South Pacific," on which a well-known musical is based. He recently returned from an extended tour of the Pacific and the countries of Southeast Asia, where he gathered material for his just published book, "Return to Paradise."

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The Provincialism of East and West

THIS IS about provincialism. Not the usual type of provincialism we read and hear so much about —the undersized thoughts of tight but uncrowded minds scornful of anything on the other side of an inevitable fence. Nor the provincialism of those who live in terror lest they be touched by a well-lit and spacious idea.

The provincialism we write about here is a much more serious one. It is a provincialism built on a paradox, for it exists where you would least expect to find it. We refer to the provincialism of philosophers and scholars. In particular, we have in mind those thinkers and writers today who are performing a disservice to the human community by placing peoples and civilizations in two big bundles neatly marked "East" and "West." And, having created these rigid entities, they proceed to exalt one at the expense of the other. Scholars who should know better, who should understand the implications of a superiority complex in the modern world, talk and write about the "destiny of Western man" or the "mission of Western man" or the "prospects of Western civilization" or the "survival of Western values." Scarcely a month passes that an article or a book does not appear with Western man as the central and awesome figure of modern history.

What do these philosophers and scholars mean when they talk about the "West" or about "Western" man? What is it that makes him different from "Eastern" man? Is there a magic biological fluid that circulates through his body, creating a natural kinship between Europeans and North Americans and South Americans? Is it a cultural matter? Is it philosophy or literature or political science or a common yardstick of values? Is it Christianity that defines the oneness of the West?

First, let us consider the origin and distribution of the species. Western man is Greek and Roman, but he is also German and Scandinavian and English and Portuguese and Spanish and Polish and Russian and a lot more. If you go back far enough there is a common stock, of course, but by going back just a little farther you can also include the people of Asia and Africa. Does living in Europe endow a person with a special chemical attraction for anyone who lives in the Americas? And what part of the Americas are you talking about? Canada? Puerto Rico? The United States? Argentina?

Or perhaps we are thinking of our political heritage. Classical Greece, in particular. True, Greece was the vital ground in which the political roots of democratic government were planted. It was here that the operation of society became a political science. The concept of constitutional government, separation of powers, limitation of tenure, direct responsibility of officeholders to the people, rights and duties of citizens—in all respects Greece made a towering contribution to history. When we add to this the Roman science of laws we have a legacy that is deeply felt, deeply valued, deeply expressed—and rightly so.

Yet even this is not enough to tie the West together and enable us to talk of Western man as a recognizable and complete democratic entity. The history of the West shows far longer periods of monarchy, autocracy, oligarchy, and totalitarianism than it does periods of democratic government. It may be argued that the true lessons of Greece did not begin to be felt for two thousand years; yet even if we confine our scope to recent history we can see that the principal threats to democratic institutions have come from within the West itself. Nazism and Communism, with their nihilism and authoritarianism, their iron heels and their iron curtains, are prime disorders within the body of the West. When we think of the citizen as a mighty source of freedom are we thinking of the individual German under Hitler or the Italian under Mussolini or the Russian under Stalin or the Argentinian under Peron?

If the case for the uniqueness of Western man moves from the political to the intellectual here again we can pay our debt to the Greek teachers, philosophers, historians, and theoreticians. And we can pay an even greater debt to their disciplined rational intelligence than we do to the actual results of those intellectual labors. If more attention had been paid to Aristotle as an example of the creative thinker and less to him as the sovereign monarch of all knowledge, perhaps there would have been less intellectual stagnation in early medieval Europe. As for Plato it should also be recorded that many of his ideas on the perfection of man were to become distorted by numberless self-appointed Platonists, and that some of these ideas were to be used against man himself. The fact that versions of Neo-Platonism played into the hands of master racers and brutalitarians is not to be held against Plato, of course, but it at least indicates that there is no firm agreement in the West about what he tried to say or about the practical application of his thought.

LONG before Plato, ideas on the need for perfection in man and his institutions were being voiced and heard in Asia—especially in China, India, and Persia. The moral code of Zoroaster, aiming at the triumph of virtue not only over the material world but over the spiritual world as well, actually helped to fertilize Greek thought. Confucianism is almost synonymous with individual virtue and applied ethics and has influenced far more people in the East than have been influenced by affirmative Platonism in the West. Similarly, it is doubtful whether the logic of Aristotle has made a more profound impact on any nation than it has upon Persia, possibly not excluding Greece itself.

The only generalization worth making about East and West is that there is far more cross-fertilization of ideas than has been generally acknowledged. A few Western scholars, such as Gilbert Chinnard, H. G. Creel, George H. Dunne, Charles Farnsley, Horace Kallen, Irwin Edman, Jacques Barzun, Arnold Rowbotham, Bertrand Russell, Ralph Turner, and F. S. C. Northrop, have been concerned with the cross-currents and cross-penetration of ideas that have been associated with geographic East and West. But too little of this has percolated through to the general body of our knowledge or scholarship.

More ought to be said about the mission of the Jesuits to China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the impact upon them of Confucianism. They were accused in Europe of having been converted themselves. The favorable accounts they sent back

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made an important contribution to the development of the French ideas of equality. The Jesuit Le Compte was especially impressed by the absence among the Chinese of hereditary nobility and the absence of caste or other distinctions. The Physiocrat School, so important in the making of the French Revolution, formally acknowledged its great debt to Confucianism, as interpreted by the Jesuits. In turn, Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson were influenced by the Physiocrats.

It is unimportant whether such influences were primary or secondary. What is important is that neither East nor West held any monopoly, as Jefferson himself pointed out, on the concept of equality. It is interesting, too, to observe the basic similarity in the thinking of Jefferson and Confucius, especially in their concern for the farmer, their cordial disdain for mysticism, their emphasis upon education as a proper function of government, and their belief in the full development of the individual.

* * *

THOSE who are accustomed to making pronouncements about the "mission of Western man" or the "destiny of Western man" will claim that we have so far slighted one fact of mountainous importance. Christianity. Isn't Christian civilization, they will ask, synonymous with Western man? Isn't this what gives Western man the right to think of himself as different and special?

The main trouble with this line of questioning, of course, is that it assumes that Christianity itself is an entity. Is there general agreement about the meaning of Christ and the teachings of Christ in the West? Is there common acceptance of the same articles of faith? Indeed, are not Christians divided by their Christianity into numberless and occasionally opposing denominations? In a certain sense this is inevitable. So long as men will be confronted with new problems, so long as they have the capacity for creative interpretation, so long as they can exercise the right of free choice, they will be unable to devise and stay within any single institution or credo. This is natural and right. There is strength in such diversity. But this strength is misapplied if it tries to segregate or compartmentalize hu-

(*Continued on page* 65)

China & History

THERE is a pattern that runs through the history of China from the foundation of the Chinese Empire to the present day. The man who was called the "First Emperor," Shih Huang Ti, was not unlike a modern Communist. He abolished the feudal system, a thing which had to be done again by various subsequent emperors; he established a sort of military autocracy; he profoundly disapproved of the traditional culture of China, which, though it lasted until 1911, appeared moribund when he ascended the throne in 221 B.C.; he persecuted the literati, who were the apostles of this ancient culture, and he burned the books with the exception of such that dealt with medicine or agriculture; he built the eastern part of the Great Wall and attempted to transform his country into a rough militaristic state, instead of the urbane and cultured society produced by the Confucians. Nothing of his work survived except the political unification of China.

When he died the literati crept out of their retreats and established themselves at the court of his son, whom they persuaded to abdicate by various ingenious maneuvers. On a great state occasion when all the ministers were expected to appear on prancing chargers one of them instead appeared on a camel. The young Emperor turned to the men around him and said, "Why is he on a camel?" "Camel, your Majesty?" they replied in pretended bewilderment. "We see no camel." The more he protested the more they shook their heads. At last they tapped their foreheads and looked at each other with significant glances. After a few such incidents he became persuaded of his own insanity. The books were brought from their hiding places, and the reign of traditional scholarship was restored, to last for over 2,000 years.

The subsequent history of China has consisted of a series of dynasties, each founded by a strong man who put an end to a period of anarchy, each gradually becoming degenerate and giving place to a new time of disorder. Exactly the same pattern is being repeated in our own day. The Manchu dynasty after a glorious beginning fell gradually lower and lower and was overthrown in 1911. From that time onward there was the usual period of anarchy. But now the new strong man, Mao Tsetung, is founding the new dynasty. Insofar as he resembles the First Emperor it is likely that his successor will suffer a fate similar to that of the First Emperor's son. I find it quite impossible to believe that so skeptical and rational a race as the Chinese will long continue to submit to a foreign dogmatic orthodoxy. In fact their submission to the Russian ideology is to be regarded as a temporary measure in pursuit of the age-long resistance to foreign influences which has been characteristic of China. It may also be regarded as the renewal of the Boxer rebellion in 1900, which was a movement of protest against the "foreign devils," as white men were called. For the moment the Chinese feel that in alliance with Russia they can hold their own against the West. But if Russia makes any serious attempt to treat China as a satellite the anti-foreign passions of the Chinese will be very quickly aroused, and their Communism will be seen to be nothing but a veneer.

The Chinese have, it is true, twice submitted to alien conquerors: once in the time of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and once again when the Manchus conquered China in the seventeenth century. But in each case the conquerors very quickly became assimilated and soon were more Chinese than the Chinese themselves. I find no difficulty in imagining a dour Russian coming from his dismal steppes into the lovely land of China and gradually having the hardness melted out of him, discovering at first with horror, but at last with acquiescent pleasure, that there is something to be said for civilization and tradition, and that possibly there is more in the ancient wisdom that the Chinese have accumulated through the ages than in the raw shrillness of an ill-tempered German exile. The Chinese are persuasive and insinuating to a quite extraordinary degree. They have their fierce moods: they are having a fierce mood at this moment. But their fierce moods pass, as they did when the First Emperor died. For my part, I loved the Chinese when I lived among them, and I cannot bring myself to believe that all these wonderful qualities that they derive from a tradition of civilization far longer than any known in Europe will disappear forever in obedience to the brutal doctrines of Moscow.

Great nations do not remain mad forever—except indeed the Russians, who were already mad under Ivan the Terrible and have remained so.

But the Chinese are not like this. At most times they are sane and wise, and I think there is every reason to hope that their present mood will not last. It is of course necessary to take account of it so long as it persists. But I feel sure the day will come when they will disappoint the Russians by their sanity. And I think we ought to keep our minds open for signs of this change of mood. —BERTRAND RUSSELL.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Before deciding on a table of contents for "America and the Challenge of Asia" the editors of* SRL *wrote to leading authorities here and abroad asking their advice as to the general emphasis of the issue and the specific topics it should treat. The detailed replies provided in themselves such illuminating comment on Asian affairs that they are being reprinted here, with permission, in place of the regular* LETTERS *department.*

SIR: I think it is important that *The Saturday Review* approach Asia on a very realistic plane. This caution is important in the present atmosphere of mysticism-cum-confusion relating to things Asiatic. Your issue on Asia must stress, of course, the important traditions of the nations of the Far East, but I feel strongly that it must center around the twentieth century and that it must deal with physical realities rather than abstract virtues. I, like many others, am sick of the overemphasis on "things that the West can learn from the East," and I should like to see your magazine spell out as clearly the "things that the East must learn from the West." This is a matter of emphasis, but I think it is important; an unbalanced treatment could sound like a collection of personal testimonials to the Hindu faith. I think the theme of your issue should center around the historical reality of a continent, long in a backwater of history, being suddenly swept up in currents of progress.

Let me list for you a number of topics which in my opinion might well be treated:

1. A well rounded discussion of the Communist appeal in China. (We know much about their tactics, but what about their rationale and *weltanschauung?*)
2. A *deep* analysis of the forces loose in Asia today. "Asian Nationalism" is a good cliché but it is misleading; and it hides the fact that much of Asian revolution is against precisely the old "nations" translated *Zaibatzu* in Japanese, *Kuomintang* in Chinese, and *Mahasabbha* in Hindustani.
3. A critical discussion of the philosophy behind MacArthur's occupation of Japan. Sample question: Is the destruction of the military caste sufficient when those social forces which encouraged its development are retained?
4. At least one good scholarly article on the psychology of the Orient and its people, traeing their intellectual development and the formation of their viewpoint.
5. An article on India, the Asian question mark. This article ought to treat India at the governmental level but also at the village level, where the realities of power are found. It ought also to recognize the fact that the position of the Indian Government five years hence will be determined by domestic rather than international considerations and it should particularly deal with the Congress Government's attempts to solve the pressing village problem.

Congratulations on your idea. I feel sure that your Asia issue will be of permanent value.

JOHN FREDERICK MUEHL.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

"Well . . . the rain must be over!"

SIR: There is not one Asia but many. There is as much difference between the mind and culture of China, the mind and culture of India, and the mind and culture of Moslem Asia as there is between ours and Europe—in fact much more. There are at least three main Asias—China, India, and the Middle East, and a good anthropologist would probably add Indonesian and Japanese Asia, too. Not only do they differ from each other but they are enormously ignorant of each other, and in the past generation have been diverging more rapidly than ever in the past.

What binds all these people together is not their cultural pattern, their "mind," in our sense, but a common subjection, first, to the brutality of pre-industrial life and, second, invasion and control by foreigners, mainly Atlantic foreigners. The common thing running through their lives is not thought, but hunger, indignity, violence, famine. They live, almost all of them, at the uttermost limit of poverty and desperation, pressing on the resources of their land and skills to the utter exhaustion of human effort.

Above this *basum* of toil is reared the very thinnest superstructure of learning, culture, tradition, art, and letters. This thought-world is the world of the very, very few, and in each of the great Asian civilizations this handful of men have worked out different patterns of culture—they eat differently, talk differently, govern differently, have disparate arts and traditions.

What is happening now is that these amorphous societies, these little atomic villages linked one to another only by footpaths for thousands of miles across the map, village crowding village endlessly over the horizon, are being infected not with our "mind" but with the technical fruits of our thinking. They are acquiring communications, roads, factories, techniques very similar to ours which allow them for the first time to take the kind of political decisions which have been commonplace in the Western world for centuries.

In each of these countries the only common quality I can make out is that for the first time Asian statesmen and generals are faced with twentieth-century decisions: they must calculate on the basis of great statistics, intervene in the ordinary lives of their citizens, think of the state in Western terms, order, command, dispose as we have done for so long. This is an intoxicating and stirring adventure for the few Asians who are now possessed of the tools of power.

The Asians, dependent so long on the cycle of wind and rain and weather for all their livelihood, governed not so much by decision as by the inertia and discipline of the village, are now installing all over their continent the techniques which are changing their lives. The few who handle or dispose of these techniques sometimes remind me of the early European explorers who would visit America, Africa, or Australia and come back with some fascinating bit of information—that tobacco is good to smoke, that the boomerang is a killing instrument, that poison darts in the hands of bushmen are dangerous. They see our techniques as tricks in the hands of barbarians, useful, intriguing, probably necessary. But these techniques are still tricks, and the Asians no more accept our mentality that begot them than we ac-

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cept the mentality of the Hottentots, the Indians, or the Australian bushmen, whose tricks have in the past aroused our curiosity. They will go ahead and absorb and develop all our techniques (as the Japanese did), but they will then fit these techniques (in their new states) into patterns of morality and culture completely alien to us.

THEODORE H. WHITE.

Paris, France.

SIR: The cardinal fact of this mid-century is the resurgence of Asian nationalism. This is a new fact in world history which America as the leader of the democratic world should try to understand. The beginnings of Asian nationalism in this century go back to (a) Russia's defeat by Japan earlier in the century; (b) World War I, which with President Wilson's message of self-government for small peoples helped to release new nationalist forces throughout Asia, particularly in India; (c) World War II, which, unlike World War I, touched Asia directly with a proportionately stronger impact. I do not think it is sufficiently appreciated in America or Europe that though Japan was defeated her ideal of independence for Asia triumphed.

The central theme should, therefore, be the rise of this new nationalism, still vague and inchoate, but capable of being given positive direction. World War II has left America and Russia as the two Big Powers, and Asia must go one way or another towards democracy or Communism. These two systems are today wresting for the soul of Asia. Russia has certain natural advantages, not merely geographic. She is part a European, part an Asian Power. She has evolved a system which many in Asia think is the answer to their economic prayers. She stands or claims to stand for the underdog.

There is the interesting position in Asia today that, while China is more or less committed to Russia, India because of her historical association with the West, particularly Britain, is wedded to the democratic system. If China succeeds in ensuring the well-being of the vast mass of her people Asia will be lost to Communism. If, on the other hand, India is successful in solving her economic problems Asia will be won over to democracy.

This is the crux of the problem, and that is why it is immensely important for America to realize the urgency of giving economic and other aid to the uncommitted countries of Asia. I should make that the central theme.

Asia's problems are basic problems. They deal with hunger, poverty, want, with food, clothing, housing, and employment. The key topic should concern itself with these four facts. In other words, with the necessity for raising the general standard of living in Asia. In this connection emphasis might be laid on one thing. According to the old pre-World War II reckoning or what one might call Imperialist reckoning, the prosperity of one part of the world depended more or less on keeping another part in political subjection so as to be able to draw upon that part as a reservoir for raw materials and labor. Today the world is more truly global, and global prosperity depends on increasing living standards in every part of the world. The more shoes, for instance, or more clothing which the Chinese or Indian peasant may wear, the better for all concerned. I think you ought to bring out one point which irks Asia. It is this. While Marshall Aid has helped to bolt the door against Communism in Western Europe, it has automatically turned Russia eastward and in a sense opened the flood gates to the Red tide in Asia. There is a great deal of talk about Point Four but, though Asia's need is far greater in a sense than that of Europe, comparatively little economic aid has been given at a time when every effort should be made to build up dikes and dams against the Red inflow. Out of a total of 57,366 million dollars given by America as foreign aid between August 1, 1945, and June 30, 1950, hardly 127 million dollars were earmarked for Southeast Asia.

FRANK MORAES,
Editor,
The Times of India.

Bombay, India.

SIR: 1. The issue must at some point tackle the question of whether we can usefully speak of an "Asian mind." Certainly Asia lacks the cultural homogeneity of Europe and is not dominated by a single ethical and philosophic tradition as Europe is by the Greco-Christian one. On the other hand, a community of want does exist in Asia, and a desire for independence is a common and basic urge. You should try to work out the many consequences of this common denominator and the extent to which the state of mind it is instrumental in creating differs in its values and attachments from that prevailing in the West.

2. The popular oppositions of Western materialism to Eastern spiritualism and of the practical West to the otherworldly East ought to be scrutinized and, I hope, discarded. They are unreliable even as preliminary half-truths. One could perhaps go on from this examination to an attempt to point out the extent to which Oriental thinking and feeling is distorted by the application of Western categories and conceptions to it—and, of course, vice versa.

3. The language problem in communication between America and Asia deserves to be seriously considered. The status of English and its influence is certain to decline, and this decline is bound to have an important effect on the ability of peoples on either side to understand each other.

4. Nationalism is certain to be among the most potent influences in Asian literature and one ought to distinguish between the kind of fake nationalism provided by changes of idiom and scenery and the effects of nationalism as a really fundamental and invigorating influence.

B. RAJAN,
India Delegation to the UN.

New York, N. Y.

SIR: One essential topic it seems to me is the self-realization of Asian nationalism, the urgent desire to be as good as we are in the political sense of running one's own country for one's own purposes. This is expressed in a good many writings of Asians who have been in contact with the West, as one might expect. A second topic is certainly the social revolution in Asia, by which I mean primarily the remaking of the peasant life on the land. Since Asia is primarily a peasant area, it is perhaps most difficult for us in the West to get inside the mind of the peasant. Modern politics in Asia and our relations thereto must increasingly, however, face up to the problem of the peasant masses on whom political power must be based. The theme of "liberation," used by the Chinese Communists, is only one expression of this general idea.

Quite aside from themes and topics, I would hope that this issue should make the point forcefully that the educated American public is too ignorant about Asian fundamentals and is "informed" too often by non-essential and trivial superficialities. I am not thinking here of any metaphysical secret of the Oriental mind, but mainly of the peasant standard of living and what it means in everyday human terms. The problem is how to make people who have never been peasants understand peasants. This is insoluble.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK,
Harvard University.

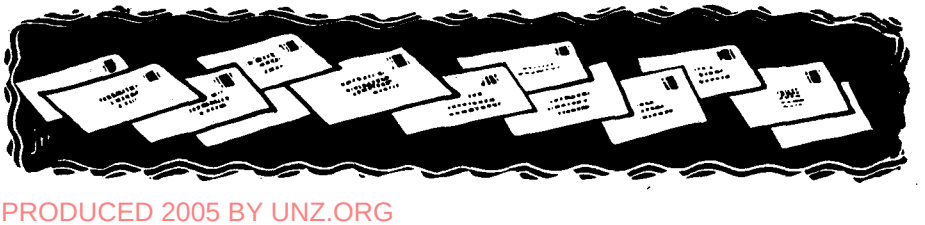
Cambridge, Mass.

SIR: My own feeling is that the Russians have gone a long way toward capturing Asia through first capturing the minds of the Asian intellectual leaders. Their weapons have been the usual assortment of misinterpretations of history, vilifications of the free world, and easy solutions for insoluble problems. They have managed to appropriate all the ideals of the free world for their own side and to pin the prejudices of Asia on us. If we are going to stem the Communist tide in Asia we must first make a greater effort to present our ideals and an accurate picture of the historical process to the peoples of Asia and then we must interpret our ideals in terms of practical policies which can be applied at once in Asia.

Among the specific topics that might be treated are: 1.) a study of the lessons to be learned from our rather mediocre record in Korea (before the outbreak of the war); 2.) perhaps an article on the reactions of the Korean people to Communist and non-Communist rule; 3.) a study of the vigorous "revolutionary" leadership we took in Japan with special reference to the problem of applying the lessons of our successful experiment in Japan to other areas in Asia.

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER,
Harvard University.

Cambridge, Mass.



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They Saw the Engulfing Tide

NEW CHINA: Three Views. By Otto B. van der Sprenkel, Robert Guillain, and Michael Lindsay. New York: John Day Co. 241 *pp.* $3.

By THEODORE H. WHITE

THIS is the report of three Europeans who happened to be in China during the stupendous year 1949 when a convulsion of history seized the world's most numerous people and the Communist revolution triumphed. The three—Otto van der Sprenkel, a Dutch scholar, Robert Guillain, a brilliant French newspaperman, and Michael Lindsay, one of England's ablest specialists in Oriental affairs—were all permitted to watch from the fringes of the great cities the vast tide of Communist triumph as it rolled down out of Manchuria, over the north country, into the Yangtze valley and then to complete victory.

Their accounts fit neatly together, although they have minor differences. Each stresses the endless incapacity of the Kuomintang regime which had preceded the Communists in government over the Chinese and the quality of inevitability the revolution had in China. All report the Spartan incorruptibility of the new leadership and the mannered behavior of its victorious troops. Each describes the orgy of indoctrination, called reeducation, to which the Communists so swiftly and skilfully subjected the great cities they had captured. All of them set a great question mark over what happened and what will happen in the vast inner reaches of China's peasant hinterland.

"New China" is most usefully read for what it is—a chunk of evidence, describing China as it was at one particular moment in the flow of events, before history carried her to that turning which ended in bloody enmity with America on the hills of Korea.

However unfair it may be to read such a book with the events of Korea in the forefront of one's mind, it is almost impossible for an American not to judge it by what guideposts the authors noted or did not see.

Van der Sprenkel's contribution is a simple, surface description of how the Communists rolled into Tientsin, to the relief of a population bedeviled for months by the mad disorder of Chiang's decaying government.

Guillain goes deeper, throwing events against their background. China had been for generations a land of disorder and decay, lacking a cohesive national faith. The Communists brought the faith of Marxism; their triumph, however, was not the triumph of that faith but the upwelling of a revolution to take over a vacuum. Guillain describes the two-stage process of conquest. First, the tide of green-clad soldiers in their straw sandals treading into Shanghai, Babylon-by-the-Yangtze. Then, the second wave of austere, ascetic men who rolled in after the troops to govern and mold the great apathetic mass to the faith they brought with them. How the mass will transform Marxism, or Marxism the masses, or how the power of police will transform either, says Guillain, is what makes the future interesting.

Lindsay's account of his return to China is easily the most important writing in the book. Michael Lindsay fled from the Japanese occupation of Peking in 1941 to take up the war in Yenan, the wartime Communist capital in the Shensi mountains. There, as a close friend of the Communist leaders, in the rough-and-ready equality of that hill capital, he lent his knowledge as a gifted amateur of radio to develop the wireless communications that linked the continental net of Communist guerrillas together in the war against Japan.

In 1949 Lindsay returned to North China to see his old friends. Lindsay was frankly baffled at the change in the mentality of the Communist state as it expanded from the village of Yenan to the control of all China. This bafflement leads Lindsay, on reflection, to a very neat and useful analysis of Chinese Communist thought. There is, he declares, an intertwining in the Chinese Communist mind of the "scientific" and the "doctrinaire." To the "scientific" he ascribes the ability of the Communists to grasp the facts of Chinese life as they saw them and thus realistically mobilize native forces to triumph in a native setting. The "doctrinaire" is their spurning of facts in devotion to Marxist dogma, the cramping of their thoughts and actions into that modern form of madness which is the totalitarian state.

What Lindsay does—better than anyone else—is to trace the transfer of a mentality, which appeared touched with genius in Yenan during the war against Japan, to the modern world. The war the Communists fought from Yenan was fought "scientifically" in that it depended on empirical analysis of observed fact in the community in which they lived. Once that mentality moved from Yenan to world affairs, depending on theory and myth to explain distant, unfamiliar facts, it became doctrinaire.

The value of this book, I believe, comes in that very quality of detachment which Americans will find most irritating. For, being uncommitted by the sorrows and angers of Americans who face the Communists across bloody trenches in defense of the law, the book records dispassionately the initial strength, the undeniable accomplishment, and the first foretaste of ugliness in the new Communist state of 1949. It also includes a valuable collection of Communist statements and theoretical documents.

What has happened in China since 1949 is a phenomenon too terrifyingly familiar in modern history: the development of state paranoia. The paranoia of the new Chinese state may have in the case-history of its making any number of American blunders and stupidities. But, as it exists at this moment, and if it cannot be cured by our wisdom and firmness, it threatens our lives. "New China" tells of the new state in the making.

Theodore H. White, who is now European correspondent-in-chief for the Overseas News Agency, served as chief of the China bureau of Time, Inc. for six years. He is the author with Annalee Jacoby of "Thunder out of China."

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Probing Revolutionary Minds

CHINA'S RED MASTERS. By Robert S. Elegant. New York: Twayne Publishers. 264 pp. $3.50.

By Robert Payne

THERE is no more anxious question in the world today than how the Communist rulers of China will employ the vast resources of the country they gained in the long battle which, beginning as long ago as 1927, ended with a decisive victory in 1950. No one denies their skill, their knowledge of the peasant masses, their contempt for the West, their mastery of the arts of guerrilla warfare. But what kind of men are they? We see them through a glass darkly. We know that Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, those conquistadors who now assume the aspect of heraldic figures, were not alone in bringing the revolution to birth. Other figures, paler and less obtrusive, played their part, and some of them possessed a quite extraordinary importance. It has occurred to Mr. Elegant that we should know more about them, and he has busied himself with Chinese and Japanese sources to produce a book which, though badly arranged and always journalistic, has the merit of providing an unusual insight into the forces at work in China.

It should be said at once that Mr. Elegant does not belong to what may be called the Categorical School of Chinese Studies. He does not believe that General Marshall was an agent of the Soviets or that to Miss Freda Utley alone has been given the gift of understanding. He is not interested in taking sides. He is passionately interested in exploring the characters of the minor figures of the Chinese Communist revolution, and it is characteristic of his method that though he deals in passing with Mao Tse-tung and has brief comments on Peng Teh-huei and a whole chapter on Chu Teh, the less important the figures the more accurate and illuminating is his summary of them. He says little about Mao Tse-tung for the reason, as he says, that the man has been described in sufficient detail already: which is a pity, because there are whole regions of his career which remain unexplored. His remarks on Chu Teh add little to the excellent study made by Nym Wales, and I find it difficult to understand why he should have largely limited himself in discussing Peng Teh-huei to a long quotation of an interview I had with him five years ago.

But if Mr. Elegant fails with his descriptions of the major figures, he brings the minor figures to life in a way which deserves our gratitude. He writes well of Chen Tu-hsiu, the founder of the Chinese Communist Party and its leader during the first six years of its existence, and this extraordinary man who later went over to the Kuomintang becomes entirely credible when Mr. Elegant writes of him. He is nearly as successful when he discusses Chu Chiu-pei, who succeeded Chen Tu-hsiu as secretary-general of the party and who was later executed on the orders of Chiang Kai-shek. Mr. Elegant probes for motives, and finds them, though he does not explain how it came about that both Chen and Chu, who were the descendants of a long line of Confucian scholars, should have embraced Communism so ardently. Most of the Chinese Communist leaders had rich middle-class origins. Why, then did they turn to Marx?

Mr. Elegant explains the mystery more successfully when he turns to the two writers, Kuo Mo-jo and Ting Ling, and describes the emotional strains through which they passed, the violent deaths of their friends as important in influencing their minds as the knowledge that Confucian civilization was in a desperate state of decay. He has read widely in Kuo Mo-jo's works and he has been able to produce a comprehensive picture of this strange, abrupt, and wholly arbitrary genius, who is perhaps the first lyric poet of any stature to achieve the dubious rank of Vice-Premier. When he comes to Ting Ling, Mr. Elegant has a field-day. Shen Tsung-wen's celebrated reminiscences have never been translated into English—the lapse is unaccountable—and that admirable collection of anecdotes on the growing pains of the writers of Shanghai provides an excellent source for tracing the development of the woman who, though the possessor of a pseudonym which sounds in Chinese as in English like the tinkling of bells, was the best trumpeter of them all.

On these and about twenty other figures Mr. Elegant writes discerningly and he can suggest the atmosphere surrounding these emergent revolutionaries with a cool command of detail. Coolness, indeed, is his watchword, and when he comes to his conclusions, he has the right to celebrate coolness in his own way. He says:

> The Western world too must realize that the revolution, which Mao Tse-tung's politicians, generals, and theoreticians have made, cannot be wiped out by a refusal to recognize its existence, nor by minimizing the grievances on which it rode to power. The United States can neither "write China off," nor sponsor a Hundred Days for Chiang Kai-shek. The United States must examine its position with regard to the Chinese Communists quite coolly, in the spirit of what used to be called "enlightened self-interest" in simpler times than these.

It would seem to follow that enlightened self-interest demands that we come to grips with China's present rulers, and Mr. Elegant can congratulate himself on having resourcefully led the way.

Robert Payne is the author of "Mao Tse-Tung: Ruler of Red China" and "Zero: The Story of Terrorism."

—From "The Chinese Woodcut."

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Out of the Past

THE COMMONWEALTH IN ASIA. By Sir Ivor Jennings, K.C. New York: Oxford University Press. 124 *pp.* $2.50.

By John Frederick Muehl

AT THE MOMENT of this writing something less than four years has elapsed since India became an independent nation, a period which, reduced to the scale of history, is certainly negligible if not totally imperceptible. It is as impossible today to appraise without bias the period of British rule as it was during its lifetime, for the feelings of its loved ones are still easy to hurt and the enemies which it made are yet grinding their axes. Even the most honest researcher is in an awkward position, the raw data of such an appraisal being biased at the sources. The most he can do is to deal dispassionately with statistics and evidence already charged with passion.

Considering these limitations, Sir Ivor Jennings has done surprisingly well in "The Commonwealth in Asia" in presenting a kind of post-mortem of British rule and an evaluation of the heritage which it has left in Asia. Originally developed as a series of lectures, the book is not a work of scholarship but a deceptively casual discussion of the political development of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Beginning with a rather loose summation of the early backgrounds, the author describes the social impact of British institutions and concludes with a number of speculations on the way that this divided past will merge in the future.

Though the chapter titles themselves are alarmingly familiar, from A Diversity of Peoples to Commonwealth Relations, for all of its appearance of cut-and-dried classicism, the book does communicate much of its own. For one thing, the author seems to have a feeling for Asia; there is no other way to describe the phenomenon. It is not just that he is able to document his conclusions but rather that his whole approach seems broadly empirical. Again, Jennings does not allow himself to be betrayed by his own rigorous logic like those before him who have tried to make an essentially unreasonable culture reasonable only to be crushed beneath the weight of their own structures.

The mistake Jennings does make is one of proportion. Near the end of the book the reader may discover that "The Commonwealth in Asia" seems to exaggerate the importance and permanence of the effect of Europe upon Asia. Like the butcher who pleaded guilty to adulterating his horsemeat "about fifty-fifty, one rabbit to one horse," Jennings seems too readily to balance two hundred years of empire against three thousand years of early history.

Inevitably this distorts the final result. What it chiefly does is to continue the impression that Asia is simply a counterweight in European politics rather than a machine with certain cycles of its own. Specifically, Jennings's book denies by implication that Asia is wholly capable of initiating history and gives aid and comfort to that nineteenth-century myth which has already caused us so many strategic losses.

There is no question that "Commonwealth in Asia" is a wholly honest, conscientious, and capable job. It is just that one is inclined to wonder whether it deals with the stream of current history or simply charts a backwater.

John Frederick Muehl, teacher of creative writing at the University of Michigan, is the author of "American Sahib" and "Interview with India."

Harris and Clare Wofford—"vivid and compelling."

Challenging Problem

INDIA AFIRE. By Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. New York: The John Day Co. 344 *pp.* $4.

By Donald Harrington

HERE IS a bold, new voice talking to Americans about India, her importance for them, her tortuous internal problems, her urgent needs and the necessity of our helping her to become the model democracy of Asia. Important Americans, from Supreme Court Justice Douglas and General Marshall on the one hand to Wendell Willkie and General MacArthur on the other, have been describing the onward march of revolution in Asia. China has already gone Communist. India need not follow in the path, but she may. It all depends, the Woffords make clear, on whether there emerges a bold, new leadership for land reform and national development in India herself, and whether we Americans have the wisdom to give that leadership strong support in a bold, new economic development program. This new voice is not talking in the platitudes of praise to which we have become accustomed, but is sharp with criticism of the conservative Congress Party's abysmal failures and Nehru's compromises. It is warm with regard for the suffering millions of India, but cold with foreboding for their future if incisive, drastic efforts are not now made to give land to the landless peasants and a more equitable share of their produce to the laborers in industries.

Harris and Clare Wofford spent six months traveling throughout India. They talked with statesmen, students, businessmen, politicians, Communists, Socialists, peasants, untouchables, and Hindu Fascist extremists. They visited the large, modern cities with their tiny rich sections surrounded by massive, sprawling, incredibly filthy slums. They went by ox-cart and on foot to the villages, and lived in the peasants' mud huts. Out of this experience has come the most interestingly detailed picture of life in postwar India and the best interpretive account of the problems of present-day India since the war.

The great question is whether the present conservative government under Prime Minister Nehru can meet the challenge of the people's swift-rising discontent. The peoples are rapidly becoming disillusioned with the Congress Party's reactionary policies. Gandhi had promised that with independence would come equality. Where is it, the people ask. The Com-

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munists promise equality. In Hyderabad they led the peasants to seize the land. Congress answered with bayonets, repression, and jail, and restored the landowners. Nehru is still the people's idol. They would follow him if he gave bold leadership for reform. But Nehru dallies, indecisive at the moment of the great decision. He may yet, the Woffords say, cast off the conservative chains that have bound him, and if he does the battle will be worth watching. But he seems to be caught in an increasing tangle of corruption, inefficiency, repression of revolt, and repression of criticism whose end may be his fall. He calls for Socialism in ten years, but, as the Woffords point out, Nehru is sixty, India is hungry, and China is Communist.

The Woffords believe that the democratic Socialists of India, under the leadership of Jaiprakash Narayan and Ram Monohar Lohia, are her last best hope. Combining the non-violent, village-construction emphasis of Gandhi with the Socialist ideal of equality, the Socialists have aroused sufficient concern in India to become the most powerful opposition force. The real choice, the Woffords insist, will be between these democratic Socialists on the one hand and the Communists or Fascists on the other. As the inevitable disintegration of the present Government proceeds apace, the time is coming when both India and America will have to choose whom to support.

In conclusion the Woffords relate India to the world's problems of peace and plenty. Demonstrating that the masses of the world's people long passionately for peace and equality, they call upon America to provide a bold and positive program to these ends. Russia cynically promises these things to the world's people. America's only hope in the long run is to offer a more effective and specific program for their achievement. Proposals for economic development and world government constitute such a program.

"India Afire" is provocative, constructive, sympathetic, and full of first-hand information. Its style is vivid and compelling. No one concerned for the welfare of the world or for his own proper functioning as an American citizen will want to miss it.

Donald Harrington is minister of the Community Church of New York. Both he and his predecessor, John Haynes Holmes, have been influenced by Gandhi's philosophy, and the Community Church maintains a friendly relationship with the India League and India's New York population.

A Philosophical Pilgrimage

IN THE PATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI. By George Catlin. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 332 pp. $3.50.

By Holden Furber

IN THIS book George Catlin describes his philosophical pilgrimage to India in 1947 in order to learn whether, through the practice of Gandhian precepts, man can escape from an endless cycle of recurring violence and war. It is, he says, "a piece of autobiography, a travel diary, a record of this quest in India" which "necessarily becomes in part a life-review and biography of the Mahatma himself." The author's method is to intersperse an account of his travels through India and his interviews with prominent Indians with reflections on Gandhi's sayings and on Hinduism in general. He appears to have had not more than three brief interviews with Gandhi, but he has obviously immersed himself deeply in Gandhian thought. The book is written with great emotional appeal in a style which is often very moving indeed. Mr. Catlin seems to feel that Gandhi's endorsement, in a message to him, of the use of force by a world police organization against those who "will not submit to due process of law" resolves all the difficulties implicit in the doctrine of non-violence as taught by Gandhi. He regards this approval of the use of force as "far more than some qualification of pacifism" and as "the reasoned reconciliation in one gospel of charity and justice." Exactly how righteous men are to behave, confronted with force wielded by evil men, before world organs of law and police are established, seems to this reviewer to be left vague. The author hardly grapples adequately with the question which will be raised in many of his readers' minds as to whether had Gandhi's advice been followed they would not be living under the tyranny of the Nazis or the Japanese.

The discussion of Gandhi's life and thought would have gained immensely if divorced from what might be called the "travel-diary" aspect of the book. The author's experiences in 1947 have for the most part little to do with the main argument. The reader is so constantly shuttled back and forth between philosophical discussion and a narrative of events and scenes, often trivial, that he becomes at times thoroughly confused, especially when events are not presented in chronological order. Although this is an American reprint of a book first published in London in 1948, no attempt at revision (or even correction of several misprints) has been made. So much has happened on the Indian scene since 1947 that many of the topics referred to are now viewed in a different perspective. The consequences of India's partition are better understood, and Gandhi's own influence during the previous decade is differently evaluated. Mr. Catlin's descriptions occasionally leave something to be desired. Having recently driven over the road from Trivandrum to Cochin, this reviewer found it far from being "a magnificent *autobahn*." From Mr. Catlin's account of Cape Comorin, one would never know that it is an important center of Hindu pilgrimage. Also, it just happens that Jonathan Duncan, who died in Bombay as governor in 1811, deserves better of posterity than to be suspected of stealing the Golden Casket from the Buddhist stupa at Sarnath and carrying it off to Scotland.

When dealing with Hinduism Mr. Catlin vacillates between admiration and distaste. Many of his descriptions of various aspects of the subject are long and involved. It is difficult to gauge what impression these would leave on a reader approaching Hinduism for the first time, but it would hardly be one of clarity. There is frequent confusion of thought, *e.g.*, in the hypothesis that worship of the *lingam* is mainly responsible for India's population problem. There is oversimplification, *e.g.*, in calling the "family system" simply the arrangement whereby unemployed members of a family live on the earnings of the employed member. The author's admiration for Gandhi is so great that he has a tendency to dissociate Gandhi as much as possible from those aspects of Hinduism which are most distasteful to Western minds. He leaves the reader with a feeling that he regrets that Gandhi was not a greater reformer and purifier of traditional doctrine. He even likes to attribute to Western sources some of the Gandhian concepts which he most admires, *e.g.*, *ahimsa* is regarded as chiefly of Tolstoyan origin. This book will give many Americans a better appreciation of Gandhian thought. The author might well supplement it by a volume devoted only to interpretations of the life and teachings of the Mahatma.

Holden Furber, associate professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of a number of studies of relations between India and Great Britain and the United States.

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Reports on Division

INDIA SINCE PARTITION. By Andrew Mellor. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 156 pp. $2.50.

By Sidney Hertzberg

MR. MELLOR "covered" the transfer of power in India for the *London Daily Herald*. His book, as far as it goes, is an honest and forthright presentation of recent events in India and of some of the problems arising from them. But it does not go far enough and, therefore, as an overall report on present-day India, it is an unbalanced book, both in its facts and in its interpretation.

Mr. Mellor, for example, has a chapter called The Economic Situation. It is a competent summary of statistics relating mainly to finance and industry. India, however, is primarily an agricultural country, and a discussion of peasant-landlord relationships is at least as important as a table showing sterling balances. Pehaps it does not belong under economics, but it belongs somewhere. The existence of the land reform problems is treated in a single sentence in the final chapter. There is no discussion at all of population or of the general problems of coordinating agricultural and industrial development.

Scattered throughout the book are accurate references to political groupings, but these are not tied together in a coherent analysis of political impulses at work in India. Perhaps for this reason Mr. Mellor will probably prove mistaken in one of the few predictions he undertakes. "To become truly democratic India needs a strong and resolute Parliamentary Opposition," he writes, "but it seems hardly likely that the power of the Congress will be sufficiently challenged in the elections promised for 1951 for this to be provided." Even when Mr. Mellor wrote this there was no justification for overlooking the possibility that the Socialist party of India would provide such opposition. Similarly, he could not then have been certain that Acharya Kripalani, a former Congress party president, would lead what looks like a serious defection from the Congress, but he could have estimated more accurately the strong disintegrative forces that were at work in the Congress from the moment independence was achieved.

The best sections of the book deal with the events immediately preceding and following partition. There is a comparatively full and clear account of how the princely states were integrated, with special attention to the difficulties in Kashmir, Hyderabad, and Junagadh. There is an able summary of the lengthy and complicated Indian Constitution. On all these topics the facts are in hand. But again, the final act of pinpointing their significance is lacking. It is possible to know the details of the Kashmir dispute without being able to grasp the intensity of India's passion on this subject. And Mr. Mellor's précis of the provisions of the Indian Constitution sheds no light on the Indian approach to constitutional law and, therefore, cannot help explain why an avowed civil libertarian such as Nehru recently insisted on the adoption of a constitutional amendment which narrows the rights of the press.

BOLT

The inadequacies of Mr. Mellor's one-dimensional reporting are best illustrated when he writes about individuals. "He bought stylish clothes, attempted to learn to dance, and tried to master the violin," Mr. Mellor writes of Gandhi in London. "Then came a reaction against this adolescent Westernization and he quickly began the ascetic habits which were to last until his death." Mr. Mellor does not risk any reasons for this remarkable transformation. Or: "The Mahatma's political methods were extremely acceptable to Indian opinion." This, too, is an accurate statement, but why so is a question left unanswered. A pat explanation of Gandhi's motivations and of his hold on India's masses is perhaps more than mortal Western man can achieve. But the effort to achieve one is part of the essential enterprise of understanding India.

Any compilation of information about a foreign country ought to be welcomed on the theory that the reader draws his own conclusions. But in the case of India an effort to isolate and assay the basic social factors is particularly important in order to give the facts meaning and to provide a basis for making sense out of future events. I am not suggesting that Americans cannot understand India; but I do think it is harder for them to understand India than, say, England or Mississippi.

Sidney Hertzberg is special correspondent in the United States for the Hindustan Times *of New Delhi.*

Continental Upheaval

THE STATE OF ASIA: A Contemporary Survey. By Lawrence K. Rosinger and Associates. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 520 pp. $6.

By Paul H. Clyde

THE STATE of Asia, particularly since the year 1944, has thrust itself piecemeal upon the American mind like an unknown, uncivil, and unwelcome guest determined not only to visit but also to reside permanently with us, and to fix the terms on which this imposed residence shall be tolerated. This uninhibited guest may yet prove to be either more or less boorish than we now think him to be, but meanwhile he exhausts our patience and taxes our reason. We can feel again with Woodrow Wilson as he spoke from the Capitol steps on March 4, 1913, that

> This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try?

Asia's contemporary revolution is now more than one hundred years old, yet until a generation ago we were all but unconscious of its being. Even today many among us are loath to acknowledge the new Asia, loath to recognize that it has identities of its own, or to learn that while we may influence its character we are not likely to monopolize its mind.

In the period between two world wars American scholarship uncovered some of the things we needed to know about Asia's revolution. Most of this evidence, however, was not common knowledge, and as a consequence the American public faced the postwar scene of 1945 ill prepared to assess the climate of Asiatic thought or to visualize what was or what should be our own relationship to it. It is the former rather than the latter of these Herculean tasks which Mr. Rosinger and his associates have attempted. Their story, which encompasses all middle and eastern Asia from India and Pakistan to occupied Japan but not including Soviet Siberia, is limited essentially to a political narrative of movements and events since 1945, with some emphasis on economic and social matters. There is an inevitable unevenness of approach and workmanship in a volume to which thirteen authors have contributed: Lawrence K. Rosinger on "China" and on "India," Owen and Eleanor Lattimore on "Mongolia, Sin-

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kiang, and Tibet," Shannon McCune on "Korea," Miriam S. Farley on "The Korean Crisis and the United Nations," John M. Maki on "Japan," Ellen Hammer on "Indochina," Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff on "Thailand" and on "Malaya," S. B. Thomas on "Burma," Shirley Jenkins on "The Philippines," Paul M. Kattenburg on "Indonesia," and Holden Furber on "Pakistan." The authors find a common ground, however, in their common purpose to describe what has been happening *inside* Asian countries since 1945. Their success is notable when measured against the formidable nature of the task. They have assembled an impressive and useful factual narrative which deserves a wide reading public.

In general, the factual detail here presented adds up to an Asia in physical and political turmoil; to ancient and traditional societies in collapse or near collapse; to a dying or dead colonialism; to young, often violent, and immature nationalism; to customary poverty intensified by famine, by prolonged warfare and resultant economic loss and confusion; and finally to a Communist-imperialism rushing into a political and social vacuum where more inhibited forces have feared to tread. The authors have undoubtedly given us a substantial product in contemporary history, but the reader will need to remind himself that the sources on which the writer of contemporary history must often depend are fragmentary, inconclusive, and sometimes completely misleading. Only time will reveal how permanent is the record given in these pages.

The factual narrative as planned by the editors does not include what has been happening in religion and philosophy, in literature and the arts, and in technology. This omission is unfortunate because Asia's present political turmoil is a product rather than a cause of new intellectual and emotional approaches to life and its meaning. This is to say that it is the mind and the heart as much as the body of Asia which demands analysis. The authors of "The State of Asia" can hardly be censured, however, for not writing what they did not set out to write. The point is that we know far less about what Asia has been thinking since 1945 than about what she has been doing.

The authors of "The State of Asia," having told their narrative, have held interpretation to a minimum. Within the limits of a single volume they could hardly have done otherwise. Yet this imposed reticence will be a major disappointment to many readers; for while these pages raise many questions, they supply few answers. What, for example, may we expect to happen when major states with deliberate intent seek to influence the civilization of another—the Allied Powers, in the case of Japan; the Soviet Union, in the case of China? It is only since the war of 1914-18, as Sir George Sansom reminds us, that organized efforts on a national scale have been taken by one country or a group of countries to impose a full system of thought and behavior and a distinctive economy upon another society. "The State of Asia" is excellent background for this unfinished story where "men's hopes," as Wilson said, still "call upon us to say what we will do."

Paul H. Clyde, professor of history at Duke University, is the author of "The Far East: A History of the Impact of the West on Eastern Asia."

" . . . one-third of the earth and almost two-thirds of mankind."

Expansive Horizons

ASIA'S LANDS AND PEOPLES. By George B. Cressey. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 597 pp. $9.

By LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

"GEOGRAPHIC ignorance is immeasurably expensive," Professor Cressey declares in introducing this extensive account of Asian geography. Fortunately, his own analysis removes any excuse for ignorance of the area he has covered. Not only is all of Asia discussed, but he includes the whole of the Soviet Union, in preference to dividing that country along an arbitrary, continental line. The first edition of "Asia's Lands and Peoples" was published in 1944. The present, or second, edition follows the old one in good part, but nevertheless constitutes a new version because of the many excisions of outdated material, incorporation of much new material (*e.g.*, on China and on India-Pakistan), reorganization of chapters, correction of details, redrawing of maps, and inclusion of a number of new photographs. One important feature of both editions is the physical ease with which the text can be read—an essential matter in so large a book—and the presence of numerous maps, charts, and illustrations. There is also an extensive bibliography.

The area of the book includes one-third of the earth and almost two-thirds of mankind. This vast region is especially notable today because it contains one of the two leading power centers of our time, as well as the vast majority of the economically underdeveloped peoples of the world. These facts, taken together with the growing political consciousness of the Asian countries, the deep interest of the United States in the area, and the decline in the traditional Western European position (especially in Southern Asia), help to explain why Asia has produced some of the most hotly contested issues and sharpest changes of the years since World War II.

Professor Cressey quite properly addresses himself to long-term developments and not to passing events, no matter how urgent. But his overall judgments are sometimes, in effect, comments on immediate matters. For example, it has recently been suggested that if Formosa fell into hostile hands the position of California, Oregon, and Washington might well be imperiled. The author, on the other hand, without referring specifically to Formosa or its disposition, remarks that "Alaska, Hawaii, and Panama are

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George B. Cressey and Robert B. Textor—"immediate matters."

the Pacific fortresses for the defense of the continental United States" and warns against security commitments that might overextend us in that ocean.

The author's conception of geography includes not only the facts of resources, climate, geological structures, etc., but also human geography—the development of the peoples who live in the various lands, and the political, economic, and social conditions under which they operate within their physical environment. He points out that "no other factor of geography begins to compare with people" and follows this dictum in allotting his space. The result is an excellent, indispensable volume that is meaningful throughout. The reader can, if he wishes, learn many interesting individual facts, such as that the Himalayas "are among the youngest mountains on earth," or that the "China coast experiences an everage of 8.5 typhoons per year"; but these are presented simply as details of a larger significant picture.

Inevitably there are some aspects that should or might be altered in subsequent editions. These include at times matters of detail. For example, Kashmir's hydroelectric possibilities are not, as Mr. Cressey suggests, the main—or perhaps even a leading—reason why Pakistan wants the area. At other times more essential matters are involved. Thus, while the author emphasizes overpopulation as a problem in some countries of the region, insufficient attention is paid to outmoded land tenure systems as an economic factor. This can be seen in the chapter on Burma, which may give the impression that the country is in a happy situation because it is underpopulated, and does not point out the serious incidence of tenancy, rack-renting, and usury. Again, the chapter on the Philippines makes no reference to the Central Luzon tenancy situation, which has become an important influence on political, economic, and military developments in the islands. In general, apart from these specific points, more space should be devoted to Southeast Asia, which is covered in some fifty pages, as compared with more than sixty for Japan alone.

These criticisms are decidedly subordinate to the book's merits. This is a volume, moreover, which can be used advantageously on many levels of reading and study. Some parts are quite technical, others simple; some discussions detailed, others brief. It is a virtue of the style and organization that a reader will readily find the kind of material he is interested in or the type that is suited to his own level of understanding of the subject. The author in fact suggests the reading of fragments totaling about fifty pages for those desiring "only a cursory glimpse of the continent." The suggestion is a tribute to Professor Cressey's modesty, but it is doubtful that any normally curious and informed reader who goes through the fifty pages he indicates will be able to restrain himself from reading a great many more adjacent pages before putting the book down.

Lawrence K. Rosinger has written extensively on Asian subjects. He is the editor and one of the authors of "The State of Asia: A Contemporary Survey" reviewed in this issue.

Lessons in Guidance

FAILURE IN JAPAN. By Robert B. Textor. New York: John Day Co. 262 pp. $3.

By Jerome B. Cohen

IN A SINCERE though very one-sided volume Mr. Textor, who spent twenty-six months with the occupation in Japan as a civilian information and education officer, argues that the occupation has "failed" because:

It has not freed Japan from excessive concentrations of economic power.

Its "restrictive policies on civil liberties," though aimed at Communists, have "in fact impeded the growth of just those middle-of-the-road, liberal forces most receptive to occupation reforms and U. S. concepts."

It has "suppressed legitimate labor activities and curtailed the right to strike."

It has in its information program been "tardy, unimaginative, and ethnocentric, failing to take advantage of Japanese receptivity to ideas."

It has in its democratization program utilized "an inappropriately trained, non-democratic institution like the U. S. Army" and therefore has been "unable to promote democratic growth in Japan effectively."

Mr. Textor's severe characterization of the occupation is at the opposite pole from the very laudatory self-evaluations of high occupation officials. Very likely the judgment of history five or ten years hence, when passions of the moment have cooled and a better perspective has been attained, will balance the debits and credits more favorably than does Mr. Textor. As occupations go this has been one of the better ones. It will, of course, never satisfy perfectionists. But it did supply a democratic constitution accompanied by free elections, enact basic labor and social legislation, allow the labor movement to grow to six million members from nothing, break up many economic concentrations even if not all, provide tax reform and control inflation even if belatedly, reorganize land tenure in favor of the small peasant cultivator, strengthen local government, provide new textbooks and new schools—if not all that were needed at least some. Production and trade have been expanded. The Japanese press, if not entirely free as Mr. Textor asserts, is much freer than it was a decade ago. And the Japanese by and large seem to like us and are not apt to remember us with anger and antipathy.

If in its last years the occupation

(*Continued on page 55*)

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SRL Goes to the Movies

RENOIR IN INDIA

A FILM by Jean Renoir bears the artist's signature just as surely as do the canvasses by his illustrious painter father, Auguste Renoir. A signature isn't just something added in the lower right hand corner of a picture after the work is completed. In a Renoir painting it is discernible in each feathery brush stroke, in each spot of color, in the unique way the artist has perceived and set down the world about him. In a Renoir film—at least, his best ones—there is richness of background and detail against which the characters gradually evolve, seemingly of their own volition. His pictures are not memorable for flashy technical tricks or theatrical effects but for his effective establishment of a dramatic atmosphere and his simple, compassionate drawing out of the people who live in it. A humanist, he brings to his humanism both philosophy and psychological perception. His people develop under the eyes of a wise and loving father.

Renoir's American work has been unfortunately circumscribed. "Swamp Water," his first American picture, had wonderfully atmospheric moments, but the studio wanted a tight melodrama and gave the picture to another director to complete. Only "The Southerner," an independent production, achieved the stature of his earlier "Grand Illusion" or "La Bête Humaine." Now in "The River" (United Artists) he has probably exceeded anything that has gone before. Based on Rumer Godden's novel, the screenplay written jointly by Miss Godden and Renoir tells a simple story of growing up in India. And in the telling are encompassed at once the philosophy, the traditions, and the ritual beauty of that ancient land. Photographed in Technicolor by Claude Renoir, nephew of the director, "The River" constantly delights the eye, the mind, and the senses.

—*From "The River."*

". . . a splendid lack of self-consciousness."

The film was made entirely in India along the banks of the Ganges in West Bengal. In it we see, documentary fashion, the teeming life of the bazaars, the operation of the jute mills, the Indian festivals. All of this forms a living backdrop for the teen-age romance between Captain John, a young American, and the three girls who fall in love with him. The boy has lost a leg in combat; he comes to India to think things out, to regain his shattered confidence. The girls are Harriet (Patricia Walters), a shy fourteen-year-old who hopes to be a writer one day; impetuous, self-confident Valerie (Adrienne Corri), whose father owns the jute press; and Melanie (Radha), a tender and retiring girl, half-Indian, half-American. The three friends become three rivals, each seeking in her own way to win the sole eligible man in the neighborhood.

It is one of the beauties of this film that none actually succeeds. The picture does not move forward to one of those conventional happy endings in which the two co-stars enfold each other in love eternal. Instead, there is the far more important, far more fascinating interplay of character and growth of personality as the romances and the rivalries develop. From each of the girls the Captain learns something that contributes to his adjustment to life. And because of him each of the girls emerges a bit wiser, a bit more of a woman. More important to each than the discovery of love is the discovery of self.

India is not simply the background for this story; it is a dynamic part of it. The search for inner peace, the acceptance of past tradition, the mystic identification with Hindu gods and goddesses enter into and in some measure direct the actions of all the principals. Perhaps the high point of the film is Radha's ritual dance of

And so it came to pass that David, the Lion of Judah, looked upon Bathsheba . . . *and for her, he broke God's own commandment!*

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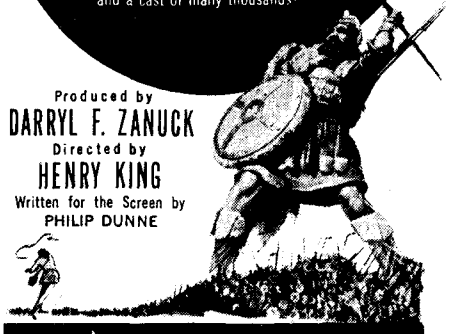

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love with the God Krishna, beautifully realized both as a dance sequence and a part of the film's development. The Diwali Festival, the feast of lights, in which each light is the symbol of a soul lost in the ageless struggle between good and evil; the spring festival, made gay by the tossing of colored powders; the Kali Puja ceremony ending with the submersion of the Goddess of Destruction in the River Ganges—these are not mere tourist curiosities, colorful incidents in a Fitzpatrick travelogue. The main thread of "The River" moves through and is part of each of them. Their drama contributes to the drama of the film.

All of this Renoir has captured with the effortless kind of camera-work that recalls the films of Robert Flaherty, the same appreciation for visual beauty and human truth. In the enacted sequences as well there is a splendid lack of self-consciousness, as if the camera were exploring personalities even as it explored the river life and the bustling crowds in the markets. All of this is the more remarkable inasmuch as none of the three girls—nor indeed many of the principals—had ever before appeared in front of a camera. Outstanding among the professionals, however, is Harriet's sweetly sympathetic mother, played by Norma Swinburne, whom we have seen before as the Colonel's talented Lady in Somerset Maugham's "Quartet." Arthur Shields lends grace and depth to Mr. John, father of the half-caste Melanie; while Thomas Breen, himself a former Marine, makes his Captain John personable enough, though a bit on the sententious side. But, above all, this is a director's film, a "signed" film, a film of real artistry and intelligence. Jean Renoir and "The River" help remind us that the motion picture can be a truly creative art, a great art that makes it possible for us to look deeply into the customs of other lands and the passions of other hearts.

—ARTHUR KNIGHT.

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TV and Radio

THE OLD RATE RACE—III

Mr. E. C. Cahill,
President,
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Camden, New Jersey,

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During the past few weeks I have received a couple of frenzied letters written over your signature, to wit:

> "Dear Television Owner: In four weeks you'll no longer have the excellent protection your RCA Victor Factory Service Contract has given you for, at that time, your present Contract will expire.
> "Long-time television owners like yourself seem to be in good agreement on at least one point —that the broadcasts have steadily gotten better. Television has been 'growing up' as well as older.
> "Thus, the longer you've had your fine RCA Victor instrument, the more valuable it has become as a source of good entertainment, interesting news, educational features."

Mr. Cahill, there is certainly something radically wrong with my set! Either that or your fine RCA instrument is picking up much finer stuff than my fine RCA instrument. As a matter of fact, I've suspected my fine RCA instrument ever since you sent those two extremely pleasant young men to install it some years ago and they showed me how to get Channel 2 and Channel 4—but not a word about how to get, or what goes on, Channels 1 or 3, which is doubtless where your fine RCA instrument is picking up all those fine shows.

Please, Mr. Cahill, don't misconstrue this letter as a complaint about the service you give us on our fine RCA instrument. Heavens no! When we did have a couple of major setbacks in reception you have quickly and efficiently supplied the men to put our fine RCA instrument back into tiptop shape. I've admired your service greatly and I've really wanted to avail myself of it more often, but unfortunately we can see and hear most of the programs quite clearly on our fine RCA instrument.

This may hurt a little, Mr. Cahill, but there have been several minor lapses in our reception with which I didn't want to bother you, and besides I've watched your men at work so often that one night when our picture was full of what we in the trade call "snow" I was able to clear the picture completely all by myself by merely closing a window facing the Empire State Building, since it was through this window the snow was drifting over the screen of our fine RCA instrument. However, I was unable to clear up the plot of the story we had been watching.

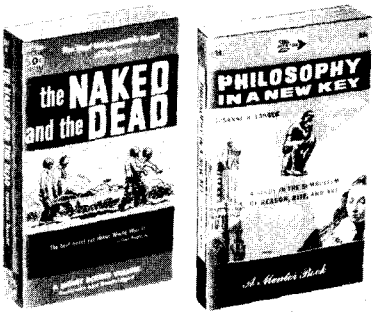
A few nights later during a frightful hum in the speaker of our fine RCA instrument I manipulated a few wires and not only lost the hum completely, but for a week after that our doorbell rang out the NBC chimes. Another time I remember when our picture was flickering like mad I stopped the flickering merely by slapping our fine RCA instrument across the screen. For some reason this also stopped the picture, right in the middle of "Leave It to the Girls."

You may also be pleased to know that when our picture was blurred we didn't bother to call you because we were able to eliminate the blur by looking at the screen through a special glass which we accidentally discovered brought everything into sharp focus and helped us enjoy television immensely. Of course, the ice cubes were of considerable help, too.

But my greatest discovery, and I pass this on to you and your staff for what it is worth, came about the night the picture on our fine RCA instrument kept jumping out of frame. I approached my fine RCA instrument to eliminate the jump, and the minute I got to the side of the set the jump stopped. As I returned to my chair the jump returned to the screen. I got up again and the moment I reached the side of the set the jump again disappeared. As I started away from the set our friends who were watching television with us that night called to me to stand there. Since this discovery that I am an electronic conductor and jump eliminator, needless to say I have spent many hours standing at the side of my fine RCA instrument. Of course, I can't see the picture this way but we do get fine reception. And it is doubtless at these times that television, unbeknownst to me, has been "growing up" and "has become a source of good entertainment, interesting news, educational features."

And you say, Mr. Cahill, that television owners are agreed that the broadcasts have steadily gotten better? I'm a television owner and I haven't been able to discern this on my fine RCA instrument. There's a screw loose some place.

—GOODMAN ACE.



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RENAISSANCE IN MANY TONGUES

(*Continued from page 28*)

makes Manila one of the dressiest and most ostentatious of cities, the writers are thoroughly urbanized. Like all educated Filipinos, they would resent the too-common American conception of their country as a loin-cloth nation. They insist on living in Manila, though it is almost beyond question the most expensive city in the world. But when they write they write with their hearts, and their hearts are with the *carabaos* and the village boys bathing in a stream at evening, or with villagers celebrating a wedding or a funeral, or with some lonely farmer hewing out a *kaingin* in the jungle. They write with anger and bitterness of what the war did to the Philippines, but they write of what it did to the villages, not of what it did to Manila.

Still, they wouldn't go back. Go home? Go back? Sure, back where there is plenty of rice and fish and where you can pick bananas off a tree, where the cost of living is a fifth of what it is in Manila.

They object: they would lose touch with the editors; anything coming in by mail is automatically filed in the wastebasket. (But the editor is your friend, this fellow right here. Would he throw your stuff away?)

But who would there be to talk to? The local schoolteacher, a handful of others. (You would enrich the circle, wade deep into the life you obviously want to write about.)

But go *back*? People there would smile; they would think there was failure in the city.

And this is the most effective reason. The appearance of failure would be as bad as the fact. Success in modern terms must always lie in the city. So writers work at a frantic half-dozen jobs and write in haste and weariness for the supplements and for supplemental income. Gonzalez, Maximo Ramos, and many others are teachers, some of them at several institutions; Lyd Arguilla and Estrella Alfon-Rivera are in advertising offices; Capiendo Tuvera, Morli Dharan, Sionil Jose, and others edit the supplements on which all depend; Paulo Dizon works in the U. S. Embassy. Nobody is a writer only, or even mainly.

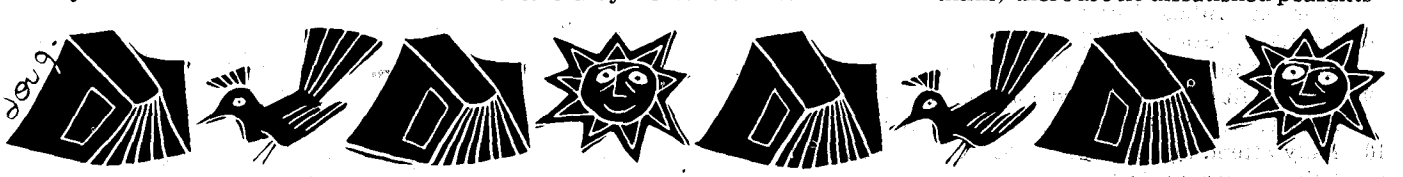
No one anywhere in the Philippines is. Perhaps the one or two or three who have escaped Manila's pressures may start a fashion and lead a parade back to the provinces, but even these—Edilberto Tiempo at Silliman University in Dumaguete and Bienvenido Santos at Legaspi—have to combine writing with teaching. For Santos at least it seems to work: last year he won the international story competition sponsored by the Paris *Herald Tribune*, and he is regarded as one of the finest poets in the Philippines. Nevertheless, it takes a strong-minded individual to work alone in the islands under present conditions. Even if fear of being a failure did not hold writers in Manila, the support and protection of the group probably would, and the split between the writers' daily life and their favorite material would continue.

EVERYTHING with them is uncertain, and most of all the political climate in which they live. One half expects writers in a new country to be political even to the point of pamphleteering, but in Manila the writers are not political at all. There is plenty of open talk about corruption in the Quirino Government, but it is the talk of businessmen, lawyers, teachers, diplomats, opposition politicians. The literary are mum. In their stories, too, one can find love, family, village folkways, war, guerrilla life, violence, psychic traumata, spiritual discontent, but no more politics than is present in their conversation. One or two stories—Manuel Viray's mildly satirical "Bureaucrat's Day" and Hernando Ocampo's routinely proletarian "Rice and Bullets"—were the only exceptions to be found. There is no political commentator with half the punch of Jose Rizal, the Philippines' great revolutionary leader whose two Spanish novels begin Filipino literature. No one imitates Rizal's approach, no writer digs into his nation's vices as Rizal did, yet all know the vices are there, and Rizal himself is so undeniably a hero to his people that even to question the structure or style of his novels is to risk provoking anger and dismay.

There may be several reasons. The brutal terrorism of the Huks may silence some protest because responsible people do not want to attack their government when it has its hands full, or because they do not want to get branded as sympathizers. The shadow of violence and fear hangs over even well-policed Manila. It is a strange experience for an American lecturer to see a guard with a carbine outside the hall as he talks and to enter and leave the national university through a roadblock manned by a squad of constabulary. In Manila these are commonplaces, like the signs posted in all the bars that weapons must be checked at the door. But literature ignores them.

Disinterest, caution, fear, disgust—whatever the causes, Filipino writers avoid politics and regard the whole spectacle of government with veiled bitterness. I have heard students of the Philippines who fear the disgruntled and frustrated college-graduate class more than they fear the Huks, but I think the writers as a group are not likely in their present mood to be involved in either muckraking or reform or revolution. Their attitude is very like that of American writers in the Twenties: they scorn to dirty their hands; politics is always dirty; the writer's interests lead him elsewhere.

In this there seems a disturbing evasion of the hard realities. The correlation between Huk-ism and land tenantry, for instance, is so clear that one is tempted to say that nothing at all is possible in the Philippines—no stability, no sound education, no agricultural and industrial growth, no peace, no literature, no anything—until landlord and moneylender are reformed out of power, and the corruption of politics at least partially rinsed away. Rizal, great as he was, did not solve the Philippines' problems, nor did the Americans. The underprivileged and disgruntled still underlie that society as they underlay it in Rizal's time, but now they are being manipulated and organized by men who know all the tricks of disruption and terror, and they themselves were trained in banditry by years of guerrilla activity against the Japanese. In those parts of the Philippines where land ownership is the rule and where local government is responsible (and there are more such districts than most people think) there are no dissatisfied peasants



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to be manipulated, and no Huk-ism.

It is an easy thing for an outsider to advocate heroism for someone else. Certainly it would take heroism for Filipino writers to become open fighters for reform instead of chroniclers of the nostalgic *barrios* of their childhood, for *habeas corpus* is still suspended in many parts of the islands, and political dissidence can be made to look very ugly by the Philippine variety of McCarthyism. Nevertheless, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the writers of the Philippines would be better and more significant writers if they were able to lay hands on the contemporary life of Manila, including its politics and its elites and its power groups and its deals, its helpless idealists and its opportunists, who seem to have adopted for their motto Simon Sugg's remark: "It's good to be shifty in a new country." The exploitation of the local color materials of the islands is legitimate, often charming, but it is not enough.

IN A new country many things have to wait, and I suspect that uninterrupted cultivation of the Muse may have to wait until Philippine roads are safe for travelers and Philippine villages exhibit more pastoral peace than they presently do. If literature is a by-product of living, I suspect that living in a dream or a hole will have an effect on it, and that the literature which rises out of a full participation in the life of one's times is likely to go deeper and last longer. In the writing group in Manila there is a reservoir of talent combined with idealism and social and political honesty that the Philippines could use.

Somehow, one leaves Manila with the conviction that before too long the writers will fit gear teeth into the flywheels of their life, and that what has been up to now only a promising literature may begin to be a powerful one. Problems that appear insoluble elsewhere in Asia are not insoluble here; brains and good will, plus some heroism, could solve them. In spite of all discouragements Manila's writers have extraordinary vigor and enthusiasm; their talk seethes with proposals and plans and possibilities, and though they see clearly their position as cultural hybrids, the thought does not defeat them. The only thing that really defeats them is the sense of being an extra, unwanted, unregarded fringe on their national life, an irrelevancy. And they can change that.

Your Literary I.Q.

By Howard Collins

IN NAME ONLY

Fannie Gross, of Asheville, North Carolina, presents ten pairs of characters from Shakespeare's plays having the same name but otherwise different. Can you match each pair with one of the names listed on the right? Allowing ten points for each correct tie-up, a score of fifty is par, sixty is very good, and seventy or better is excellent. Answers on page 65.

1. Courtier, in "Hamlet" / Physician, in "Cymbeline" ( ) Angelo
2. Wife of Iago, in "Othello" / Lady, in "The Winter's Tale" ( ) Cinna
3. Fairy, in "Midsummer Night's Dream" / Page to Armado, in "Love's Labor's Lost" ( ) Cornelius
4. Lord attending banished duke, in "As You Like It" / Son of Sir Rowland de Bois, in "As You Like It" ( ) Edmund
5. Goldsmith, in "A Comedy of Errors" / Deputy to Duke of Vienna, in "Measure for Measure" ( ) Emilia
6. Son of Priam, in "Troilus and Cressida" / Young nobleman, in "Romeo and Juliet" ( ) Jaques
7. Conspirator, in "Julius Caesar" / Poet, in "Julius Caesar" ( ) Maria
8. Drunken butler, in "The Tempest" / Servant to Portia, in "The Merchant of Venice" ( ) Moth
9. Earl of Rutland, in Third Part of "Henry VI" / Bastard son of Gloucester, in "King Lear" ( ) Paris
10. Lady attending princess, in "Love's Labor's Lost" / Olivia's woman, in "Twelfth Night" ( ) Stephano

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THE JAPANESE STATE OF MIND

(*Continued from page 26*)

nation, and the need for order and balance governing every relationship and every life activity. It is not, therefore, individualism and personal initiative that we find stressed even in the most modern fiction but the capacity to accept frustration, to betray no emotions when dignity so rules, and an infinite patience in "bearing the unbearable" . . . as the Japanese Emperor decreed that his subjects must do when he announced capitulation in 1945. Just as the older contemporary writers—Kan Kikuchi, Saneatsu Mushakoji, Yuzo Yamamoto, and others—wittingly or unwittingly wrote of death being better than dishonor, overt controls triumphing over internal storms within an individual, and of the supreme value of fulfilling that destiny which one's place in society imposes, so an almost identical set of values shines through even the most realistic of today's works.

Although Japan occupies second place, after the United States, in the production of full feature films, its postwar film crop has been unusually poor. A Japanese critic, Nobukatsu Fujita, analyzing the situation, ascribes the Japanese film crisis, as he calls it, to: (1) overproduction, because immediately after the war there has been a terrific demand for film; (2) the length of the feature film, because Japanese tradition requires very lengthy theatrical entertainments; (3) the purge of many outstanding directors and producers; (4) outdated equipment; (5) the competition provided by the American films, with which recent Japanese films cannot compete either financially or technically. Recently there has been some improvement, as well as a return to the warrior themes of the Kabuki theatre and to classical Japanese literature. "The Tale of Genji," for example, has just been made into a film. Many of the current Japanese best sellers are also being filmed. It is noteworthy that of the foreign themes Dostoievsky's "The Idiot," Daphne Du Maurier's "Rebecca," and "Manon," "La Traviata," and a number of other books and plays dealing with frustrated desires and requited love and pain have the greatest appeal. "Rebecca" drew unprecedented crowds; and "The Idiot" has just been made into a Japanese film named "Hakuchi."

In the field of current events and contemporary political thinking three topics appear to be uppermost in the Japanese mind: the peace treaty, the purge of the former nationalist and militarist elements, and the international situation.

Generally speaking, the Rightist elements, including the purged Army and Navy personnel which includes many members of the former Japanese patriotic societies, are in favor of the present separate peace treaty, the "Dulles Treaty" as the Japanese call it, which excludes Communist China and the Soviet Union. The Socialists and the Moderates, on the other hand, have been either directly opposed or else apprehensive of the situation where two of Japan's closest neighbors will be left out of the treaty arrangements. The opinion of the business circles, while overtly wholeheartedly in favor of the "Dulles Treaty," has nevertheless been somewhat cautious. Examination of the economic and business journals reveals a great deal of shrewd analysis of Japan's economic situation as it is today and promises to be in the future. Discounting the present military crisis, during which the United States has welcomed the contributions of Japanese industry to its procurement orders, there is a sober realization of the essentially competitive character of the British and the American trade. Both have tried to capture the Asiatic markets which Japan considers her special area.

Analysis of the current trade figures, published by the *Japan Economic Weekly*, discloses India and Pakistan as Japan's largest customers during 1949 and 1950. Frank questions are raised as to how and how long Japan can exist in isolation from China, whose industrial markets, alongside those of India, provide natural outlets for Japan's manufactured goods. As far as China is concerned, as early as a year ago the *Japan Economic Weekly* noted pointedly that U. S. coal costs $23.00 per ton, Indian coal is $12.50 per ton, but the Kailan coal of North China is only $11.34 per ton to the customer.

THE SECURITY Pact with the United States, to become effective simultaneously with the Peace Treaty, is a matter of much concern and constant discussion by both the Japanese press and the Japanese radio. The granting of the bases and the stationing on the Japanese soil of American troops many feel to be an invitation to atomic bombings, of which Japan has already had her fill. Unlike any other nation in the world today, Japan has a very personal feeling about atomic warfare, and there is a decided undercurrent of bitterness beneath its nationals' polite smiles in this respect. To an even greater degree than Europe Japan does not want to become a battle area for another world war, "not even for another small war," says an old acquaintance from Nagasaki.

Not all politically conscious elements, however, share the views mentioned above. Recent Tokyo broadcasts appear to signify that the ultra-Nationalist and the ultra-Rightist elements welcome the Security Pact with the United States and see there an opportunity for the eventual rearmament with the help of United States arms and thus a chance to regain a leading position in Asia sooner than by any other method.

The purge of some 170,000 persons in June of this year, or nearly 90 per cent of the total originally purged, including schoolteachers, Army and Navy personnel, the former "thought police," and the former intelligence and propaganda personnel, as well as the feting of the leading purgees by the incumbent Premier—have been events of great excitement in Japanese life, denoting the turning-back of the wheel and the resurrection of a life which was temporarily eclipsed by the strange ways of the conquerors. The turning of the tide to the right,

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A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 424 will be found in the next issue.

K VAJUCDCVAJH NKJZA,

LMJWY K ZMWIMWHT ZC

KHZJCK, HKW LM ZPJMI

KWI ZMDZMI CWUT JW

KHZJCW. BCAW IMSMT.

Answer to Crypt No. 423

The possibility of truth is conditioned by the hazard of error.

—RALPH B. PERRY.

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the Korean events, and the reinstitution of the unofficial "thought control" on the part of the Japanese, who are as sensitive as a barometer to the moods of the occupation authority, makes it difficult to estimate the extent of the Communist movement there. According to the office of the Japanese Attorney-General and prior to the MacArthur Communist Control Directive of June 6, 1950, Communist Party membership reached 108,692. During the last year the Attorney-General's office reports a 40 per cent drop.

One should distinguish, however, between the Japanese attitude toward Communism on the one hand and toward the Soviet Union on the other. Japanese realism, unlike that in the United States, rarely confuses the issues of getting along with a strong and possibly useful neighbor on the one side, with the non-sharing of that neighbor's ideological values on the other. Japan has always been able to learn. It is a good pupil. It has learned from Russia and Germany. It is now learning from the United States. It is not differences of social structure and ideology but mutual advantages and the struggle-for-power affiliations—whether economic, military, or political—that will determine its final stand. Neither is any stand final.

Japan is an old country, a talented country. Five hundred years before Columbus discovered America it had already had a literature which is as readable and as pertinent and popular today as it was among the reading circles at the time of its origin. It admires our technological efficiency and it may envy us our wealth. It may genuinely like us at times. It may be grateful to us on occasion, particularly where the occupation is concerned, and the obligation of repaying gratitude is one of Japanese traditional values. But it stands firm in its adhesion to its own indigenous set of values, which stress patience, rather than haste; self-control rather than self-expression; a subjugation of an individual to duty rather than to an individual pursuit of happiness; the timelessness of continuity rather than the importance of the immediate future.

Ina Telberg, who was brought up in China and Japan and has lived in Korea, Manchuria, and India, is a sociologist and anthropologist. After teaching at Ohio State University, Miss Telberg became a member of the Planning Staff of the Office of Strategic Services during the war and saw active duty in the Pacific theatre. She has also done work for UNESCO.

NEW BOOKS

(*Continued from page 48*)

has tended to harden and become somewhat more conservative, as Mr. Textor states, he must remember that it is but a reflection of both the intensification of the cold war and of United States domestic political trends over the past few years. If millions of Japanese farmers, to Mr. Textor's regret, vote conservative despite land reform (or perhaps because of it), he should remember that millions of United States farmers vote conservative despite price supports. Curbs on labor in Japan developed about the same time that the Taft-Hartley measure was enacted in the United States. Government workers in the United States do not have the right to strike. Similar comparisons could be made in the field of civil liberties, education, information, etc. Why condemn in Japan what we do not as a collective people condemn and eliminate at home?

To repair the damage which he feels has been done in Japan, Mr. Textor favors postponing the signing of the Japanese peace treaty while a reconstituted "civilianized" occupation "facilitates such fundamental reforms as a more democratic economy, greater political and personal freedom, and a stronger free labor movement." His very curious desire to prolong a "civilianized" occupation seems to stem from his regret that the occupation may end with the conservatives in power in Japan and from his hope that in due course, with the continuance of occupation-sponsored free elections, the pendulum would swing. He declares: "We can be safe in granting final autonomy only to a Japanese government that has the confidence and participation of the labor movement and the working people generally." The Japanese people have in several free elections again and again chosen the conservatives, and Mr. Textor as a firm believer in the democratic process should be willing to permit them their choice. Why, in the light of the German experience, he should remotely think a "civilianized" occupation would change the choice is not at all clear. It is to be doubted that any occupation in a half decade or so, unless it utilizes terror, violence, and other totalitarian techniques, can materially influence the thought patterns and national habits of a country whose origins go back into the shadows of antiquity.

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years of orders and directives from United States officials—army and civilian alike—the Japanese have grown restive. It would appear to this observer that United States prestige in Asia will best be served by now leaving the governing of Japan to the Japanese.

Jerome B. Cohen is author of "Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction."

Verbal Brushwork

KAKEMONO: A Sketch Book of Post-War Japan. By Honor Tracy. Coward-McCann. $3. This is a book about MacArthur's Japan and also about the Japan that has a timelessness untouched by the General, his reforms, and—if Miss Tracy is to be believed—by the American occupation. "Kakemono," those delicate but sharply drawn Japanese scrolls and wall paintings that illustrate the wonderful artistic feeling of the country and also indicate its complicated mind, offer this British journalist a marvelous medium for commentary on what others have hopefully reported on "the new Japan." Using words instead of stylized brushwork, Miss Tracy's sketches are as delicately wrought in excellent writing as their Japanese counterparts in paints, but there is no mystery in their meaning. For her opinions, though slyly interpolated, are lethal.

The occupation, she says, has attempted to do everything while "GHQ" (Miss Tracy is reluctant to personalize, but you can guess) in fact knew next to nothing. And because the Japanese had their own long-evolved and tightly knit culture American efforts to recast the nation in an image of the conqueror she regards as farcical. There is also tragedy, for Miss Tracy believes that the Japanese—much as she likes them—are shamming their recently discovered affinity for "de-mok-ra-cie" and that the conqueror is deluding himself. Those press releases were, well, just press releases.

What Miss Tracy has to say about Americans, en masse or as individual specimens, is seldom complimentary. Her type of British approach is that of a critical, acid-tongued aunt rather than of an amused big sister. But her facts seem to be facts, and her eight months of observation were mainly unshepherded by the guiding hand of GHQ's public-relations section. Her bad temper, therefore, is less important than her reporting. She should be read—today especially—by everyone except 200 per cent Americans with high blood pressure. —PETER R. LEVIN.

THE NATURE OF THE CRISIS

(*Continued from page* 18)

the cloth the desired quality will be imported. Experimentation has already produced a variety of cotton that will reduce the amount of Egyptian cotton to a minimum. They plan a paper industry based on their unlimited supply of bamboo. Scientific research has also solved the problems of making papers of varied specific qualities from this raw material, and Swedish engineers are at work on the electric-hydraulic installation necessary for operating the mills.

The general principles behind this Burmese planning are relatively simple. Capital is originally obtained by nationalizing the production and sale of that commodity whose export yields significant amounts of foreign exchange. Capital goods purchased with some of the profits of this sale are used to start a consumers goods industry. This industry uses raw materials, preferably those produced by domestic agriculture, and employs labor drawn whenever possible from the peasants during the off-season of agricultural work. Both these operations expand the internal market by contributing to the peasants' incomes and, thereby, increasing their capacity to buy consumers goods. This expansion is the support of a rising standard of living. At the same time the dissipation of foreign exchange for the purchase of raw materials and consumer goods is checked; the savings are to be used to obtain capital goods for the creation of other industries which, working along the same lines, will accelerate the process of expanding the internal market, raising the standard of living, and creating capital. Since foreign private capital seeks investments that yield quick and high profits, this process, the Burmese believe, can be initiated and carried forward only by centralized direction.

Chinese, Indian, Indonesian, Iranian, and Turkish leaders, as well as Burmese, think that action along these lines offers the only solution to lifting their peoples out of their age-old poverty. It appears, therefore, that in Asia one is not necessarily a Communist if one thinks in terms of nationalization and economic planning.

THE USUAL approach to the problem of education among Asian peoples is in terms of their illiteracy. Campaigns to abate this evil are primary elements in the processes of modernization now under way among them. It must be said that down to the present date these campaigns are on the whole failures. At best they touch barely half of the children. Of those who complete the five or six years of schooling about half quickly forget what they have learned. Since the schooling ends at the age of eleven or twelve, the children learn almost nothing that leads to the changing of any of the traditional patterns of daily life; practically, this means that the occupations, diet, sanitation, and health are unaffected. In fact, the chief result of these campaigns is to create a channel for centralized propaganda, and all parties, reactionary as well as revolutionary, use it as much as they can.

If this is the situation at the base of the educational structures of Asian countries, conditions are not better at the top. The universities that train scientists, doctors, and lawyers are burdened with an examination system which makes the verbal mastery of stereotyped information the chief objective of study. Following both traditional and imperialist precedents, university graduates seek positions that require no physical labor. Better practices are only beginning to find place in both training and employment; American influence is a significant factor in this development.

As noted previously, the education of the politically active minorities is a central problem among Asian peoples. The European imperialist regimes attempted to prevent the formation of such minorities by limiting educational opportunities and by offering those that lead generally to bureaucratic employment. As indicated by a Dutch complaint about the Indonesians, "We trained only engineers and physicians, and they turned out to be politicians," these attempts failed. Most of the new national governments face the problem of creating this minority by establishing or, at least, recognizing methods of inculcating political opinions. Following both Russia's practice and Sun Yat-sen's teachings, the Chinese Communists maintain special schools for political indoctrination; the significant differences between these and the Russian party schools is that emphasis is laid upon what is called "learning from the people." Every Chinese who has studied abroad must attend one of these schools before he can obtain a position. In Siam a special institution at the university level trains both men and women in law and the social sciences for politics and government

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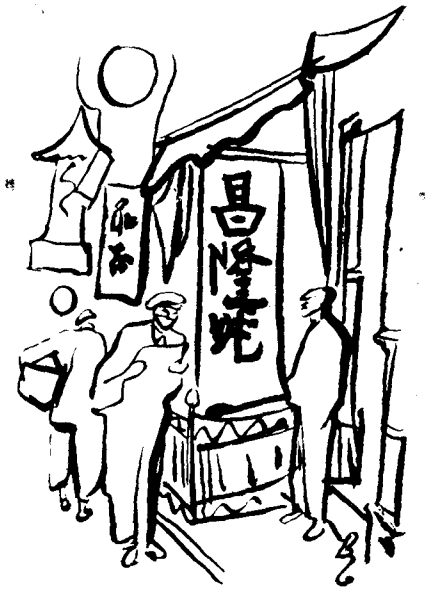

service. Gandhi believed that religious practice and village service which made *ahimsa* or harmlessness the guide of conduct should be the central element in training for leadership. Present India is not following his teaching; it is extending as rapidly as possible university programs in the social sciences, statistics, and administration. In Moslem countries, even at Azhar, the central university of the Islamic world, science, both social and natural, is being combined with the traditional Shariat in the training of the Ulema, among whom Moslems still feel the leaders of the people should be found.

In Burma, Ceylon, and India special efforts are being made to educate peasant children in science and for public service. But education that leads to political opportunity is generally restricted to those who can afford to pay (and the cost is high) for the secondary education that prepares for university entrance. The great lack in Asian educational programs is the provision for the expansion of secondary schooling which alone can give the people the knowledge to support new standards of health, productivity, and political conduct. This failure arises partly from the financial weakness of the new governments but more from the traditional belief, supported by the practices of European imperialist regimes, that the people should be led rather than become active in their own behalf.

"We are people!"

The dilemma about education points to the ethical issue at the heart of the Asian Revolution: "Shall the people act for themselves to achieve the modernization of their lives, or shall they be led to it?" Some of their past rulers—Chulalongkorn, Attaturk, and Reza Shah—proposed to lead them to it. Now the Communists promise to do this. Even reactionary elements, whether religious or political or economic, hypocritically pay lip service to the same promise.

THE PROPHETS of the Revolution have searched the various traditions for the answers to this question that justify the people in acting for themselves. Karma, fate, and the Will of Heaven have been found to move *with* or *in* the people. The Hindus quote the Gita in support of leading an active life. Gandhi explained this life as one of service to the Indian villagers. Buddhist monks declare that, since no knowledge is foreign to the Master's way, science must be brought to the service of life. Moslem historians assert that Islam was once the chief progressive force in the world and that it can become so again. Iqbal preached the doctrine of creative individualism. Sun Yat-sen proclaimed —Mao Tse-tung echoes the proclamation—the responsibility of each of the four hundred million Chinese for combining their superior moral value with science in achieving not merely Chinese, but also world, reconstruction.

Who are the Asians now crying, "We are people"?

More than half the human race. Peasants caught in the cultural vices of their villages that held them fast to traditional ways of life—so impoverished that they dare not risk changing those ways else they starve. But they are people, awake. Awake to the fact their old-age deprivations need no longer be suffered. Awake to the fact that something exists in the world which, if they possessed it, would end these deprivations. They do not know that this thing is science and its applications. But, even so, they mean to possess it and to obtain its benefits.

Whoever gives them these things they will follow. They will act to find those who will give them. And as these leaders give them these benefits they will develop more and more the capacity to act for themselves. Democrat, Communist, reactionary, each if he leads must give them these same things. And no one yet knows how to do this.

The Asian revolution will be long and certain. This is the ultimate meaning of the cry "We are people."

Ralph E. Turner, Durfee Professor of History at Yale University, is now in Europe, where he has been a delegate to the UNESCO conference in Paris. Dr. Turner recently spent several months traveling in Asia studying current trends and developments.

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THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

(*Continued from page 16*)

of the Stalinist power machine. In China a further demonstration of this fact is in process, although its impact cannot yet be measured because its full force has not yet made itself felt. But consider, among many other particulars, the consequences of the Korean adventure for the new Communist regime. It doubtless had its own reasons for intervening in Korea, but the fact remains that it moved into a tactical operation in the power struggle that was dictated in the first place by the Russians and whose ultimate outcome depended in the end on Russian strategy decisions. The result was a grisly stalemate that cost the Chinese Communists heavily, not only in the tangibles of expended men and materials and deferred internal programs, but in the intangibles of growing internal stringency. Eighteen months after it had come to power amid almost general popular acquiescence the regime had to resort to mass terror. This year popular acquiescence and support for Peking has been transformed into submission, with the revolutionary élan of the people dropping away as the dictatorship claims its victims by the thousands on public execution grounds trampled by obscenely cheering masses of frightened people.

The promise of relative economic development in Asia under totalitarian auspices also fades under closer examination. Asian development on a scale comparable with the needs can take place only on the basis of a new kind of partnership with the advanced West. The Russian empire is not now and will not be for a long time in a position to play this role in relation to its Asian satellites. Russia is still engaged in its own form of primitive accumulation. It does not feed wealth to its empire; it drains it. It is sucking Europe dry and has already begun to exploit even the meager resources of China to this same end. If it is possible to conceive of a stabilized totalitarian empire dominated by Russia for any extended period, the flow of industrial resources on the necessary scale into Asia will be indefinitely postponed. The condition of the peripheral countries in such an event is scarcely pleasant to contemplate. Even Russia's tyranny will have been a picnic compared to the weight that the power machine will have to exert to bear down on the mounting pressures in Asian lands. The extreme characteristics of the present Chinese mass purges is already an index of what might be expected.

FINALLY, there is the matter of time. Russia achieved its relative transformation in the first place because it had a resource pattern which no Asian country can match. But it was able to do so primarily because it bought time, thirty years of time, in which to sweat the necessary surpluses out of its own people and to extract what it could from the outside world by extended maneuvering both in the political and economic spheres. It accomplished its purposes at enormous cost both to the Russian people and the European revolutionary movements. It survived the war, thanks to a

decisive margin of Western aid, and was able to rebuild itself in no small measure out of the loot of conquest, including the industrial loot it stripped from Manchuria in 1945. No country now drawn into the Russian sphere will be allowed to duplicate this experience or to buy by maneuvering even a fraction of the time that Russia bought. This, too, is already being demonstrated on a massive scale in China, which needed time so desperately on the morrow of the Communist conquest. Instead, it was cut off from the West and sucked into a conflict that cost it so heavily in ponderable goods and in the imponderables of public support. How much more travail China and perhaps other parts of Asia may have to pass through before this lesson is fully learned, no one now can say.

This brings us to what is perhaps the ultimate paradox of all this history. It is that Asia's hopes for a tolerable epoch of growth and development depend in the final analysis on the West, which did so much to bring Asia to its present pass. These hopes, moreover, rest now with the further evolution of the United States. If there is a democratic alternative to totalitarian development in Asia, it rests with the rise of a new democratic revolutionary synthesis in Asian-American relations. But here, too, the paradoxes multiply. The United States was in a position at the end of the Japanese war to identify itself with the Asian revolutions. Instead, by its failure to grasp the significance of what was happening, by its stubbornly conservative and Europe-focused myopia, by its capitalist inertia and its own stubbornly persistent racialism the United States has managed to become in Asian minds the heir to Western imperialism. This is already a profound drag on American policy in Asia. But even this might yet be overcome if American behavior in Asia can still be based on democratic revolutionary premises. But here again, as the need for a revolutionary world outlook mounts, the internal American trend is toward increasing conservatism and a tendency to reduce the terms of the Russian-American struggle to brute force alone.

Yet in Asia, as Korea has demonstrated, brute force is not enough. Force may have to be applied, but it can be applied productively only if it is a function of a total policy that opens up prospects of effective development, encourages democratic revolutionary forces in the Asian countries, and creates on a basis of common self-interest and mutual respect a new American-Asian partnership.

The fact that we have discovered Asia so late lays heavy burdens upon us. Our failure to grasp the meaning of the Asian upheaval has already since 1945 cost us heavily. We may have in these few but explosive years lost more ground than we may be able to retrieve for years to come. On the other hand, lessons learned the hard way are more adhesive. Nor are we alone in having lessons to learn. Millions of Asians, too, are going through a series of shock treatments, discovering great new facts of life with pain and confusion and difficulty. They have at least as much ignorance and as many misconceptions to overcome as we have. This is only in small measure consoling, for it suggests how long and how painful our mutual education-through-catastrophe may be before we finally do stumble out onto common ground and get on with our common business of making the world over.

Harold R. Isaacs is a correspondent of many years' experience in the Far East. The author of a number of books on this part of the world, including "No Peace for Asia," "New Cycle for Asia," and "The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution," as well as a regular contributor to various periodicals, Mr. Isaacs has recently been visiting lecturer at Harvard University.

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A POLICY FOR THE WEST IN ASIA

(Continued from page 12)

which the nationalist sentiment expresses itself among the peoples of Asia. A variant of this manifestation is the fear that the Western Powers, and with them the United States, are committed to a policy of maintaining their colonial holdings in Asia on the excuse that they are in reality combatting the inroads of Communism.

I think it is fair to say that there is a mixture of motives on both sides. On the part of the colonial powers it is a convenient excuse to say that if they abandoned their colonies today they would fall under Communist control tomorrow. On the part of the countries of Asia it is equally true that some of the nationalist movements in the region originally arising from the compulsion of genuine historic forces have been taken over by the Communist elements or have acquired a distinct cast of Communism.

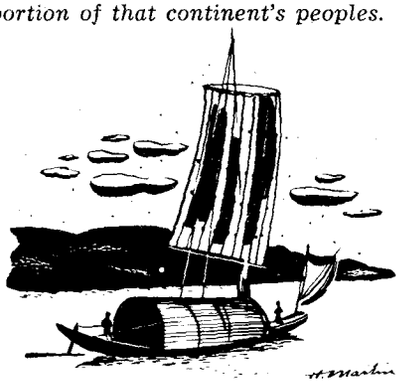
The truth is, of course, that nationalism was an inevitable stage in the political development of the Asian peoples. It was bound to come sooner or later, actually sooner because of the powerful impetus of the Second World War. The answer, therefore, to the argument that some of the nationalist movements in Asia are Communist-inspired or Communist-led is that they have become so only because the Western Powers lost by default the splendid opportunity of building upon such movements a program of increasing autonomy for the native inhabitants leading to the ultimate goal of independence. Guidance and encouragement were what these movements needed from the very beginning. The methods of repression, on the other hand, have resulted in excesses of violence and revolution.

If there is one principle that has proved its validity throughout the centuries, it is that only a free people with a clear hope of freedom will fight in defense of freedom. If, therefore, it is our desire that the peoples of Asia should remain on the side of the free world, then it is absolutely necessary that freedom or the clear hope of freedom be vouchsafed to them. Otherwise, the Voice of Freedom calling to them and rallying them to the common struggle becomes as a voice in the wilderness.

It is certainly significant that none of the newly independent countries of Asia has so far succumbed to Communist influence or domination despite the heavy infiltration of Communist elements within. Though some of them desire to appear neutral in the East-West struggle for power, there is no doubt whatever that all of them without exception are determined to fight Communism within their own borders. On the other hand, the still dependent colonies in the region have been under heavy Communist attack both from within and from without. In their case the issues have become so confused and equivocal that assistance to either the colonizing power or to the nationalist movement becomes equally suspect. The issues at stake lose their clarity, and the easily understood contradiction between freedom and slavery becomes clouded. It becomes hard to know who is your friend or foe.

In the end, the problem of Communism in Asia becomes a problem of competing systems, a problem of substitution or displacement of one by the other. It will be resolved by actual proof in fields other than military which, in the eyes of the peoples of Asia, firmly sustains the principle that one or the other political or economic system more adequately provides an answer to their legitimate national aspirations to freedom and economic security. I have no doubt that Western democracy has the means and capacity to provide such an answer. To give that answer in time (and time grows short even in ancient Asia) a deal more courage and imagination will be required than have been shown in the past.

General Carlos Romulo, Philippine war hero, is now his country's Minister of Foreign Affairs. Head of the Philippine delegation to all important meetings of the United Nations and an outstanding authority on problems in the Far East, General Romulo is widely regarded in Asia not only as a spokesman for his own country but as an authentic Asian voice, reflecting the views and aspirations of a large proportion of that continent's peoples.



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Ideas on Film

Eyewitnessing the World of the 16mm Motion Picture

ASIA AS AMERICANS SEE IT

SELDOM if ever do we get to see a film which was produced in Asia for Asians to see; this despite the fact that India, for example, ranks second to the United States in the world's production of motion pictures. We know to what large extent our own movie industry depends upon foreign markets, yet we do not seem interested in trying to establish a fair exchange of films or of ideas for that matter.

This week's guide to 16mm. films about Asia shows that practically all of them are also American sponsored and produced. Production dates are given where known, and distributors' addresses appear only after the first mention. For further information write to this department.

First there is a large selection of classroomish films available from the China Film Enterprises of America, 165 West 48th Street, New York 18. This is a private concern engaged in the production and distribution of educational films about China. In the field of art CFE has the following titles for rental and purchase: "Ancient Chinese Paintings in America," 1942 (10 min., color); "Chinese Bronze of Ancient Times," 1951 (20 min., color); "Chinese Ceramics through the Ages," 1951 (20 min., color); "Chinese Dressmaking," 1950 (10 min., color); "Chinese Jade Carving," 1950 (10 min., color); Chinese Painting through the Ages," 1951 (20 min., color); "How to Paint in the Chinese Way," 1942 (10 min., color); "Out of a Chinese Painting Brush," 1942 (10 min., color); "Painting a Chinese Figure," 1947 (10 min., color); and "The Story of Chinese Art," 1951 (30 min., color). "Chinese Writing" (20 min., color) is available from the Harmon Foundation, Division of Visual Experiment, 140 Nassau Street, New York 7. "Flight of the Dragon" (20 min., color), displaying the Chinese art treasures of the Royal Ontario Museum, is distributed by the National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York 20.

Chinese dance and music is the subject of three films also distributed by China Film Enterprises: "Chinese Shadow Play," "Melody of Ancient China," and "Two Chinese Dances," each ten minutes and in color.

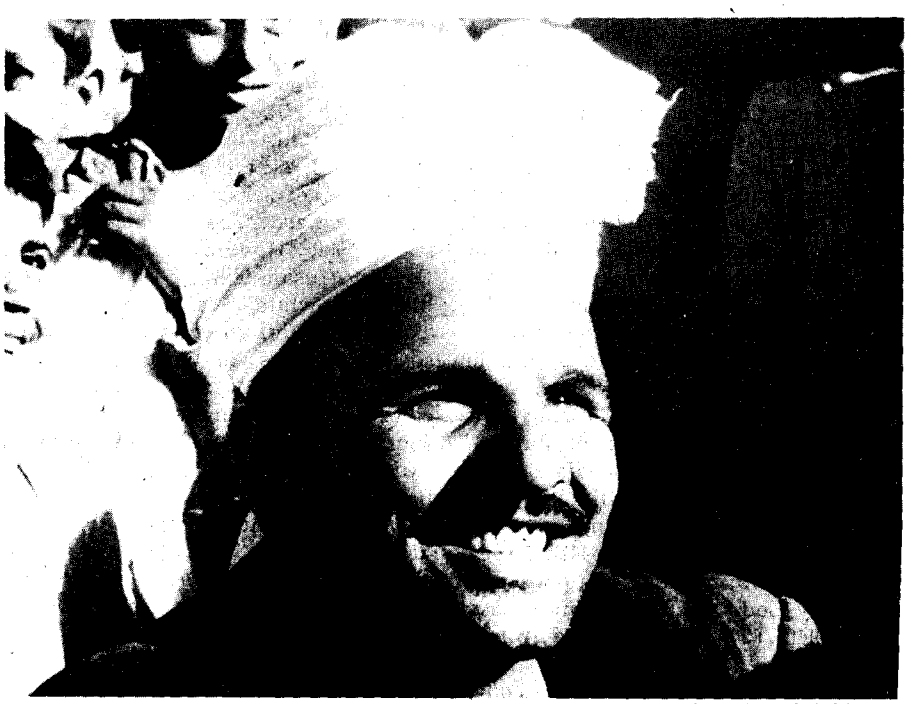
Five cities are covered in semi-travelogue fashion in the following CFE releases: "Hanchow—China's Garden City," "Nanking—The Southern Capital," "Peking—Marco Polo's Wonder," "Tientsin—Gateway to North China," and "Town by the Yangtze," each ten minutes and in color.

"Peiping Family," 1948 (21 min.) and "Sampan Family," 1949 (16 min.) are produced and distributed by the International Film Foundation, 1600 Broadway, New York 19, as part of its program of furthering understanding among the world's people. The films are available for purchase only; for rental consult nearby *SRL* Film Referral Libraries. Two Louis de Rochemont productions in the educational series "The Earth and Its People" depict rural and city life in China: "Farming in South China" and "Oriental City (Canton)." Each is about twenty minutes long and available for purchase and rental from United World Films, 1445 Park Avenue, New York 29. "Children of China," 1940 (10 min.) is distributed by Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Illinois, for elementary classroom use. Gateway Productions, at 1859 Powell Street, San Francisco 11, has "The Chinese Peasant Goes to Market," 1949 (10 min.) and "Journey to Kunming," 1949 (30 min.)

Contemporary problems are reviewed in the March of Time's "China," 1945 (15 min.) and in RKO's "China's Life Line," 1948 (16 min.). The former is distributed for purchase only by the March of Time Forum, 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17; the latter by McGraw-Hill Text-Films, 330 W. 42nd Street, New York 18. For rentals consult nearby *SRL* Film Referral Libraries. In 1939 during Japan's aggressive war against China Joris Ivens and John Ferno produced "China's Four Hundred Million," which is still distributed by Brandon Films, 200 West 57th Street, New York 19.

INDIA

Films are offered for rental and purchase by the Government of India Information Services, 2107 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D. C. Each of the films runs ten minutes unless otherwise specified. Arts and crafts are presented in "Handicrafts of India," "Handicrafts of South India," "Indian Art through the Ages," "Our Heritage" (30 min.), and "Saga in Stone." Classic gesture dances are shown in three films, "Bharatnatyan," "Kathak," and "Kathakali"; "Melody of Hindustan" and "Musical Instruments of India" are self-explanatory titles. Current political, social, and economic themes are the subjects of "Freedom Marches On," "India Independent," "Indian Minorities," "In Rural Maha-



—*From "Promise of Pakistan."*

" . . . round out the map."

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rashtra," "Ladakh Diary," "Republic Day Celebrations" (18 min.), "Prime Minister's American Travelogue" (30 min.), "The Story of Sindri," and "Rajasthan." "Sanitinikitan" is a tour of the institutes and schools comprising the University of Visva-Baharati founded by Rabindranath Tagore. "The Coconut Tree" and "Palmyra" explore the economic values of these two important resources. "Vale of Kashmir" is the first color travelogue the India agency has released here.

Films from other sources include the March of Time's "India," 1945 (15 min.) and "India, Asia's New Voice," 1949 (17 min.). "Farmers of India," produced in 1949 by Louis de Rochemont Associates, is distributed by United World Films, which also distributes the British production about life on an Assam Valley tea plantation, "A String of Beads," 1948 (20 min.). "Land of the Maharajahs" (40 min., color) and "Strange Gods of India" (25 min., color) are available only from Esso regional offices along the east and Gulf coasts. "Wheels Across India," 1940 (30 min.) and "East of Bombay," 1941 (30 min.) are available free of charge from the General Motors Film Library, 1775 Broadway, New York. The charming dance film, "Fable of the Peacock" (15 min., color), is released by Brandon Films.

JAPAN

Postwar Japan is the subject of a number of U. S. Army films released for purchase by Castle Division of United World Films, 1445 Park Avenue, New York 29: "Agriculture and Fishing in Japan," 1945 (27 min.); "Edition Tokyo," about the free press in Japan, 1950 (9 min.); "Educational System of Japan," 1945 (36 min.); and "Transportation and Communication in Japan," 1945 (30 min.). "Appointment in Toyko," 1946 (55 min.) stresses the events leading to Japan's surrender, and "The Atom Strikes," 1948 (30 min.) shows the effects of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. "Farmers of Japan," produced by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in 1948, (20 min.), is also sold by Castle Division of United World Films.

For classroom use the following films are available: "Children of Japan," 1941 (10 min.), Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Illinois; "Girl Scouting Returns to Japan," 1947 (10 min.), Girl Scouts, 155 East 44th Street, New York 19; "Island Nation," produced by Louis de Rochemont Associates, 1948 (20 min.), United World Films; and "Japanese Family," 1950 (23 min.), available for purchase only from the International Film Foundation.

Contemporary problems are discussed in the March of Time's "Japan and Democracy," 1950 (18 min.), and RKO's "Report on Japan," 1948 (19 min.), distributed by McGraw-Hill Text-Films.

The only full-length Japanese fiction film available in this country for 16mm. showings is "Kimiko," (77 min.) first produced in 1937 and released here in 1948 by the International Film Bureau, 6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 2, Illinois.

KOREA

In 1950 the U. S. Army produced three films on war in Korea: "The Crime of Korea," a review covering the years 1945-1950 (13 min.); "First Forty Days in Korea," (24 min.); and "Battle for Time," war from July 10 to August 8, 1950 (13 min.) All three are sold by Castle Division of United World Films. For rental consult nearby *SRL* Film Referral Libraries. "Korean Backgrounds," 1951 (17 min.) was produced and released by the International Film Bureau.

MISCELLANEOUS AREAS

Miscellaneous areas of Asia are dealt with in a handful of titles: the March of Time Forum's "Indonesia, An Empire's Problem," 1948 (18 min.); Joris Ivens's "Indonesia Calling," 1947 (20 min.), distributed by Brandon Films; "Tropical Mountain Land (Java)" 1949, (20 min.) produced by Louis de Rochemont Associates and distributed by United World Films. The latter company also distributes the de Rochemont "Nomads of the Jungle (Malaya)" 1949 (20 min.). British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, has "Voices of Malaya," 1950 (35 min.), "Ceylon—New Dominion," 1950 (20 min.), and "Report on Hong Kong," 1950 (20 min.)—the latter two produced by J. Arthur Rank in the "This Modern Age" series. To round out the map there are "The Promise of Pakistan," 1950 (17 min.), March of Time Forum; "Inside Tibet," 1950 (40 min., black-and-white or color), produced by Tolstoy-Kayfetz and distributed by Association Films, 35 West 45th Street, New York 19; "Miyah," 1951 (35 min., color), dealing with the threat of water shortage in Saudi-Arabia and released by the American-Arabian Oil Company, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20; and for elementary classrooms "The Malay Peninsula," 1948 (10 min., black-and-white or color) produced and distributed by Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Illinois.

"Food for Asia," 1949 (10 min.) is distributed by the British Information Services. "Thunder in the East" (10 min.) is a new 1951 release by the Na-

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—*From "Japan and Democracy."*

". . . contemporary problems discussed . . ."

tional Film Board of Canada. And finally Castle Division of United World Films offers the U. S. Army production, "The United Nations in World Disputes," 1950 (21 min.), providing background on Indonesia, Palestine, India and Korea.

MISSIONS

Films reflecting America's Protestant missionary interests in Asia are available from the Religious Film Association, 45 Astor Place, New York 3. "Toru's People" (33 min., color) was produced by Kenco Films and covers postwar Japanese problems in government, education, economics, religion, and home life contrasting the old military Shintoism with the new and little-understood democracy. "Kenji Comes Home" (35 min.) is a production of the Protestant Film Commission and tells of a Japanese veteran who turns to Christianity in the struggle against Communism. "Fujita, Orphan in Japan" (35 min., color), produced by James and Schwep for the United Lutheran Church, shows how missionaries cared for one Japanese boy. "Kyoto Story" (24 min., color) is the story of a Japanese G.I.'s discovery of an American missionary, photographed for the Congregational Christian Churches by James and Schwep.

"Letter from China" (30 min., color), produced for Congregational Christian Churches by the International Film Foundation, pictures the daily work and life of a medical missionary and his wife. "My Name is Han" (27 min.) tells how a Chinese farmer comes to understand Christianity through his Christian wife, neighbors, and the local Chinese pastor. "Thy Will Be Done" (30 min.), produced by Cathedral Films for the National Council of the Episcopal Church, appeals for further support of medical missions in China. "Beyond Our Own" (40 min.), produced by the Protestant Film Commission, compares the lives of two brothers, one who finds outward success as a lawyer and the other who finds inner peace as a medical missionary in China.

"Heart of India" (30 min., color), produced by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, shows the influence of a Christian mission on the life of one Indian boy. "Yesudas the Outcaste" (20 min.), produced by the Methodist Board of Missions, tells of an untouchable who goes to mission school, marries a Christian girl, and decides to enter the ministry.

We have to look back several decades to find real film excitement as in the Cooper-Schoedsack productions "Grass," 1927 (70 min. silent) and "Chang," 1929 (60 min., silent) both of which are available to educational groups from the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, 11 West 53rd Street, New York 19. In the documentary tradition nothing has yet equalled the Grierson-Wright "Song of Ceylon," 1934 (35 min.), available from the same source.

Our films could show us how the other half of the world lives, but in order to make these films we would have to have an open-eye policy about Asia. Without it our films will continue to reflect our aims and even our hopes for Asia, but not Asia itself.

—CECILE STARR.

WOMEN OF ASIA

(*Continued from page 24*)

activities of their leaders. This education was a two-way process. One of the student leaders in Indonesia, who had returned to Jogjakarta when the Republican Government came back in 1949, told me about the students' life in the villages. "For both sides it was a political education. This has made the students very conscious of the Indonesian *people* instead of just idealism and slogans. Now our boys and girls know the people, and the villagers who had been suspicious of town people have changed their outlook too. For me it was a life in a foreign country."

In Japan, where there was no revolutionary struggle and where until the occupation women were not permitted to enter colleges, the girls were not as politically aware as other Asians. On the other hand, Japan was the first Asian nation to produce that curious postwar phenomenon, the career girl. Under the encouragement of the occupation authorities, and even during the war when so many of the Japanese men were away from their homeland, girls began to enter government offices, business firms, or newspapers, as well as the various professions. Today one sees the Japanese girls in theatres and vaudeville and movies as performers or as ushers, in shops as salesgirls, and even as policewomen and trolley-car conductors.

ALTHOUGH THE turmoil that wars, revolutions, and the new rise of nationalist feeling in Asia have caused has brought many of the women out of the traditional life of the home and family, still the vast majority of them remain in the villages of Asia in the exacting life of an agricultural society. However, if the relatively small percentage that have accepted the new responsibilities are any sample Asian women, far from being "backward," can show themselves as progressive and enlightened members of their own countries, and of the world. If they can combine the sense of security and the knowledge of realities which they possessed in the old days with their new liberties and duties they may even prove to be leaders.

Santha Rama Rau, a native of India and author of "East of Home," was educated in England and in this country, graduating here from Wellesley College. She has written widely on Asia for many periodicals.

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BOOKED for TRAVEL

ASIAN ATLAS

JAPAN

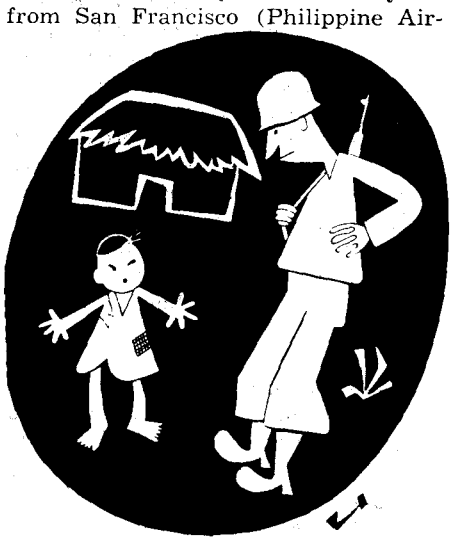
Not only are tourists welcome, but a campaign is under way to urge them to come out. Your choice of Western hotels (at $6 to $10 a day without meals) or Japanese hotels. Choose the latter only if you don't mind sleeping on a mat on the floor and taking your shoes off before coming in the front door. Western food in big cities, elsewhere fried prawns, raw fish, green tea, and broiled eels. Plenty to see and to buy. A day and a half by air: Pan American via Hawaii; Northwest via Edmonton and Alaska or via Seattle and Alaska. Fifteen days by ship.

HONG KONG

British colony in Southeast China. Good hotels, often crowded, with rates from $3 to $6 single, $4 to $8 double, European plan. Excellent Chinese food, a shade more exotic than your favorite stateside Chinese hangout. Shark's fin, pressed duck, shellfish, sweet and sour sauces. Don't miss Chinatown, the curio shops, the Chinese temples, and Portugal's Macao Colony, an Eastern Monte Carlo. Two and a half days by air from the West Coast (Pan American). Two weeks by ship.

THE PHILIPPINES

Ready for tourists again, but the best season is around Christmas. The rainy season is now to October. The hotels are excellent, the food a mix of Spanish, Chinese, and local dishes built on a base of rice. Some sights to see, a number of resorts, and all sports, including cock fighting. Plenty hot all year around. A day and a half by air from San Francisco (Philippine Airlines, Pan American, and Northwest). Three weeks by ship.



SINGAPORE

A British colony on an island off the end of the Malay Peninsula. Home of the Raffles Hotel, Singapore Slings, and a reputation for dire, shadowy intrigues. The Raffles and three other hotels are quite good, charge $11 to $14 a day double, American plan, but things are usually very crowded. Curried local concoctions and expensive Continental fare. The nights are dressy in the British colonial tradition, y'know. See the rubber industry, orchid growing, and, of course, the city is a sight itself. Seven hours from Manila by air or a month from the West Coast by boat.

THAILAND

Better known as Siam, as in Anna and the King of. You won't find anything approaching the Waldorf, but you can call the Bangkok hotels passable. The ante comes to about $7 a day for bed and breakfast. Chinese food and local Siamese curry dishes. Plenty to see in Bangkok, also boat trips on the river and a visit to the floating market. Whereas we watch baseball, the Siamese work up a dither over fish fighting and kite-flying contests. The better part of three days by air from the West Coast (Pan American), and nearly two months by ship to a port fifty-two miles south of Bangkok.

INDIA

An active program is under way to draw tourists. In Calcutta there are three hotels charging about $7 a day single including three meals and afternoon tea. A ride in town will turn up trained bears, trained monkeys, and probably the old rope trick. Try to get a peek at a Hindu goat sacrifice in any of the temples. Taj Mahal is a six-hour ride from Delhi, the capital. Kashmir is a resort, and the Kashmiri are artisans after the Florentine tradition. Cook's brings hunting expeditions to India, and the expensive cruises of such ships as Cunard's *Caronia* have been putting in at Indian ports. TWA flies to Bombay, Pan American makes it to Delhi via London and Istambul. About two days by air and anywhere from three weeks to a month and a half by ship.

—Horace Sutton.

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COMPOSITION, PERFORMER ALBUM NUMBER NUMBER OF RECORDS	*Recording Technique, Surface* ENGINEERING	PERFORMANCE AND CONTENT
TCHAIKOVSKY: SYMPHONY #5. a) Berlin Philharmonic, Fricsay. Decca DL 9519 b) Philadelphia Orch., Ormandy. Columbia ml 4400	▶ The Decca (Deutsche Grammophon) is excellent, but the Columbia is superb. The German job is lighter, with good strings, the louder parts a bit muddy, compressed sounding; over-all level low. The Columbia is wonderfully loud, clear, quiet-surfaced, with beautiful perspective.	Ormandy outdoes, Stokowski here—an intense, alive playing, but it will irritate many with its overdone drama. Fricsay's, lighter, is less flamboyant, more sensible, will please connoisseurs.
EARLY-ROMANTIC SPECIALTIES		
BEETHOVEN: SONATA FOR TROMBONE AND PIANO, OP. 17; THREE "EQUALI." Schuman Brass Choir, Davis Schuman, trombone; S. Raphling, pf. Renaissance X 31	▶ High-quality tape recording; the solo trombone is most realistic, the piano in background, but excellent.	The sonata, originally for horn, adapts well to trombone; a pleasant early work, nicely unimportant. The "equali" are solemn, chorale-like, short.
ARRIAGA: QUARTETS #1 AND #2. The Guilet Quartet. Concert Hall CHS 1068	▶ A first-quality quartet recording, with natural, unexaggerated liveness, well balanced.	Arriaga died at 20; these Schubert-period quartets are fluent, sincere, modest student works.
SCHUBERT: SYMPHONY #4. Vienna Symphony, Paul Sacher. Program EXLP 704	▶ A typically good Vienna recording, beautifully clear and transparent; as nice a sound as you could want.	Good players, who seem held to a wooden rigidity by the conductor. Almost-tops in spots, yet fails.
WEBER: CONCERTINO FOR CLARINET & ORCH.; SYMPHONY #2; "OBERON," "EURYANTHE" OVERTURES. Berlin Philharmonic, Berlin Radio Sym., Schrader, Heger, Rother; A. Burkner, clarinet. Urania URLP 7012	▶ These are all first-line recordings, the Radio Symphony a bit nearer, drier than the Philharmonic. Clarinet, at proper distance, is perfectly captured.	Four most welcome works—three conductors and all do good jobs, highly musical. The early symphony is relatively unformed, disjointed, but already full of Weber vitality and drama.
CHOPIN: SONATA IN B MINOR. SZYMANOWSKI: FOUR PRELUDES, ETUDE IN B FLAT MI. Maryan Filar, piano. Colosseum CLPS 1003	▶ One of Colosseum's non-Russian discs; very steady, full-toned piano, but miked close and rather percussive.	A powerful but monotonously colored Chopin, strangely pedal-less. The Szymanowski is innocuously pre-impressionist, no more.
GREAT SINGING		
MAHLER: "KINDERTOTENLIEDER." Lorri Lail; Berlin Radio Symphony, Kleinert. MAHLER: "SONGS OF A WAYFARER." Josef Metternich; Berlin Radio Symphony, Ludwig. Urania URLP 7016	▶ Listening to this, one feels sure that these "Songs on the Death of Children" are the greatest songs ever written and this is their finest performance! Infinitely moving, infinitely sad, luminously orchestrated, they rank with late Beethoven, the best of Bach. Lail is also a genius at this moment—a tremendous performance. The early "Wayfarer" songs, with male voice here, may disappoint owners of the Brice version, but this one grows better with hearing. Lovely recording, except for some blast in Lail, an off-mike effect in Metternich. A record you can never forget.	
RAVEL: "CHANSONS MADECASSES." DEBUSSY: "TROIS CHANSONS DE BILITIS." Jennie Tourel; George Reeves, pf., J. Wummer, flute, L. Vargo, cello. Columbia ml 2184	▶ Tourel's "speaking" personality fairly jumps at you from the loudspeaker — extraordinary combination of a superbly dramatic "mike personality" and top quality hi-fi voice recording. Try the Ravel "Aoua!"	Tourel Uncanny, so powerful and transparent, is her transferal of musical and poetic essence. An arrestingly great performance of half-wild Ravel, atmospheric Debussy.
SACRED MUSIC AROUND THE YEAR. The Trapp Family Singers, Wasner. Concert Hall CHS 1100	▶ An excellent job with the right intimacy, a good balance, easily understood diction. Minimum of usual inter-modulation voice harshnesses.	This, too, is great singing of its genre; you won't find better, nor more unassuming. An eclectric "concert," nicely held together by the Church Year theme. —EDWARD T. CANBY.

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PROVINCIALISM OF EAST AND WEST

(*Continued from page 39*)

manity into Christians and non-Christians, Eastern and Western man, or make something unique of one man as against another. The province of Christianity is not the ennoblement of Western civilization but the ennoblement of man.

Next, when we talk about Christianity do we have in mind theoretical Christianity or practising Christianity? If we take as the purest expression of Christianity the Sermon on the Mount, we observe the most profound disparity between the passive, self-effacing, self-abnegating, humble, gentle man of Christ and the highly individualistic, dynamic, acquisitive, determined man of action so highly regarded in our society. Is there any doubt that the true Christian—the man who lives according to the Sermon, who loves his enemies, who will give his cloak to those who take his coat, who will resist passively and expose himself to those who would harm him, who takes no thought for his standard of living but only with the wealth of the soul—is there any doubt that such a man would have difficulty today in finding a church of Christ whose members would gratefully receive him? Would he not be rejected as a crank or a disreputable person by those who think of Christianity as part of a composite social respectability, a sort of righteousness compact which we ought never to be without but which we never really take the trouble to comprehend?

The greatest paradox of all, however, is that the truest expression of Christianity today is to be found not in the West but in the East. In India countless millions of people are living out the ideals of Christ, though they do not call themselves Christians and are unfamiliar with Christian theology. They are the poor and the meek and the merciful and the pure in heart. They regard life as sacred and will not harm it in any of its forms. They practice renunciation. They believe in non-violence and they worship the memory of a human being who perhaps has come closer to enacting Christianity than anyone in modern history. Interestingly enough, Gandhi's struggle was directed against a Western Christian nation.

The East, of course, is no more a political or cultural or anthropological entity than is the West, although those who talk with such careless ease about Western man generally juxtapose him against Eastern man. What common center fuses an Afghanistan Moslem with a Filipino Catholic? Or a Ceylonese Buddhist with a Chinese Taoist? The religious Hindu is as appalled by the paganism of some of his Chinese neighbors as are the Episcopalians by Jehovah's Witnesses. Conversely, some Chinese are as baffled by Indian mysticism and Theosophy as many of us are, though it must be recorded that Theosophy is a product of the West. And the biggest ideological threat in Asia today, Communism, is not an Eastern idea but a Western one. What all this adds up to is not an entity but a vast complex inside a complex, with no single unifying thread.

It must also be said that the East has its own provincial philosophers and scholars who lack an adequate background for an understanding of Europe and the Americas, and who make the error of dealing in stereotypes and non-existent entities in writing about the "iniquitous and materialistic West." Even when they are friendly, they excuse our "rashness" and "impulsiveness" because of our youth. We are "precocious," "mechanistic," "frivolous," "irresponsible," "ambitious," lacking in "perspective," "wisdom," "insight." As yet, however, Asian scholars have not proclaimed any missions for Eastern man, nor have they endowed him with a special claim on human destiny.

The need today is for philosophers and scholars—whether in Asia or Europe or Africa or the Americas—who will address themselves to the human situation. The need now is to talk not about geographic destiny but about human destiny. The need is to think in terms of universal values.

Now that education has served the purpose of instructing us about our variations, let it inform us about the things we have in common. Over and above the challenge represented by differences in skin pigmentation or the shape of our eyes or the color of our hair or our cultural and religious and national backgrounds is a major and dominant challenge: the need to make this earth safe and fit for man. We may live in the two worlds of "East" and "West" but we have only one planet to do it in. —N. C.

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(*Continued on page 66*)

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WANTED: Mature male correspondence to disenchanted mellow female. Box 599-H.

PROFESSIONAL MAN, good-natured, intelligent, sincere, energetic, diversified interests, seeks feminine correspondence. Box 600-H.

HIGH SCHOOL SCIENCE TEACHER on sabbatical seeks employment new and different. Age 46, female, personable, excellent health, free to go anywhere. Box 601-H.

REASONABLY LITERATE, tolerant? Uncluttered background? Woman awaiting correspondence. Box 602-H.

MR. "HINTERLANDER" or "Coaster," please portray principles. Mature. Box 603-H.

GENTLEMAN alone for summer, would correspond with those in similar fix on artistic topics. Box 606-H.

ARTISTS' STUDIO, near coast, modern kitchen, living room, bedroom for 4-6, shower, $60 weekly. Rental also month, season. Ideal for friendly or congenial group. Select location. In nearby main house, rooms $2- $3-50 daily. THE PARK HOUSE, York Harbor, Maine.

PERSONALS

HARVARD GRADUATE, 29 and fancy free, wants position involving European travel—guide, companion, researcher, extensive experience, language qualifications, artistic interests. Box 593-H.

FOR SALE: Unusually beautiful beach on unusually beautiful lake for unusual people. Box 594-H.

MUSIC, books, art, sports, Municipal opera! Man wishes correspondence with young woman similarly interested. Box 595-H.

ANY CONGENIAL CORRESPONDENTS? Professional woman, sense of humor, idealistic realist, cultured, traveled. Box 596-H.

WOMAN seeking new interests desires correspondence with mature man. Box 597-H.

YOUNG MAN, teacher, Ph.D. candidate, interested literature, phychology, humor, invites feminine correspondence. Box 587-H.

PROFESSIONAL WOMAN, retired, interested in finer things of life, would correspond with mature gentleman of similar tastes. Box 588-H.

REFINED GAL, sense of humor, likes outdoors, metaphysics, invites correspondence with mature cultured gentlemen. Box 589-H.

CULTURED GENTLEMAN, variety of interests, seeks congenial correspondence. Box 590-H.

MATURE FEMALE wants correspondence with middle-aged male interested in books, outdoors, music. Write Box 581-H.

YOUNG PROFESSIONAL WOMAN seeks serious but not solemn correspondents. Box 582-H.

EDUCATED, attentive man, music and country lover, desires correspondence lady. Box 583-H.

COOPERATIVE producing screen printed textiles needs young, farsighted workers, trainees, immediately, Florida. Box 584-H.

COUNTRY MISS, quiet personality, energetic nature, invites correspondence from young man. Box 585-H.

GENTLEMAN vacationing Quebec, early Sept., seeks transportation. Consider renting car with congenial companion, share driving, expenses. Box 586-H.

VACATIONS

SOUTHWIND, Woodbourne, N. Y. Charming private lake — delight of swimmers, rowers and fishermen.

NAIDNI ON LAKE DUNMORE—a place of rare simplicity and charm for vacations any time of year. Booklet on request. Brandon, Vt.

MERRIEBROOK, POUGHQUAG, NEW YORK. Peaceful homestead. Adults only. Tempting meals. North Clove 2421.

CANADIANA LODGE, Gravenhurst, Ontario (famed Muskoka Lake district) offers best in Canadian vacations.

SUMMER AT BLUEBERRY HILL. Lucullan food. Trout streams. Country splendor. Brandon, Vt.

KANDAHAR LODGE, Manchester, Vermont. Excellent accommodations. Swimming, private beach. Sports Restful, informal. Library. Delicious meals. $38 weekly, up. Folder.

SUDBURY INN at Lake Hortonia, Sudbury, Vt., provides best in country vacations.

GREEN SHADOWS, Old Lyme, Conn., quiet informa country life, good food, comfortable beds.

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SCRIBNER HILL FARM, Oxford, Maine. Lake, mou tains, fine view. $40.

BLUESPRUCE LANDING, West Brooksville, Mair Quiet country vacation. Private beach.

FENIMORE CAMPS, on Otsego Lake, 1 mile fr Cooperstown, N. Y. Light housekeeping cabins fr $35 weekly for 2. All sports including riding i struction. J. Braider, manager. Telephone Coope town 675.

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DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 906

Reg. U. S. Pat. Office

By Elizabeth S. Kingsley

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Shallow saline lake, N. Africa.	40 45 136 67 124
B. Narcotic annual herb used by some Californian Indian tribes ceremonially.	44 125 70 137 114 1 129 68 109
C. The advantage; mastery (2 wds.).	176 8 20 149 101 157 23 6 43
D. Sojourns.	178 112 58 51 138 61
E. Virginia colonist whose method of curing tobacco laid the basis for prosperous trade.	150 107 141 85 133
F. To exhibit atavism (2 wds.).	97 132 18 56 81 12 103 4 25
G. National Park near New Orleans, commemorating battle of Jan. 8, 1815.	86 154 28 66 100 46 55 92 69
H. American dancer, choreographer, teacher of dancing, once associated with Weidman.	167 88 29 163 38 108 74 105
I. Where Paul and Barnabas opened their missionary work (Bib.).	82 35 76 168 162 174 130
J. Author of a book which profoundly influenced cause of anti-slavery, 1851-2.	36 79 175 151 165
K. An abstract, summary, or abridgment.	127 160 152 166 111 122 53
L. German humorist who used pseudonym of Jean Paul (1763-1825).	159 170 120 63 139 146 72

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
M. Tea whose leaves are only partly oxidized before firing.	93 87 15 84 42 179
N. Characterized by simplicity and sincerity.	121 22 153 50 158 75 90
O. Famous slugger, American League (baseball).	27 49 134 128 94 182 32 78
P. Appellation of tea that is fragrant.	171 47 3 181 148 80 104
Q. Handles of joiners' planes.	131 142 71 147 83
R. Most frequently.	9 106 156 91 173 102 24 7
S. Detests to extremity.	140 113 57 17 2 169
T. A hustler (comp.; slang).	144 19 59 172 126 115 161 31
U. Large legendary bird of "Arabian Nights."	52 155 62
V. Hebrew prophet made famous by his struggle against Phoenician worship of Baal (Bib.).	95 11 180 110 34 48
W. "Book" of 11th century or earlier, containing important Anglo-Saxon poems; now in cathedral of same name.	41 118 5 96 99 177
X. Irish-born private secretary to General Washington; later his Secretary of War.	16 33 60 26 116 89 13
Y. Twilight.	123 77 14 143 73 10 65 37
Z. Internationally known Swedish philanthropist (1833-96).	54 64 145 117 164
Z'. Showing the hard bony appendages of the jaw, as in a grin.	119 21 30 135 98 39

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd words, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. The letters in each word to be guessed are numbered. These numbers appear under the dashes in the column headed WORDS. There is a dash for each letter in the required word. The key letters in the squares are for convenience, indicating to which word in the definitions each letter in the diagram belongs. When you have guessed a word, fill it in on the dashes; then write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram. When the squares are all filled in you will find (by reading from left to right) a quotation from a famous author. Read up and down the letters mean nothing. The black squares indicate ends of words; words do not necessarily end at the right side of the diagram.

When the column headed WORDS is filled in, the initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Authority for spelling and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary (second edition).

								1 B		2 S	3 P	4 F	5 W	6 C	7 R		8 C	9 R
10 Y	11 V		12 F	13 X			14 Y	15 M	16 X	17 S		18 F	19 T	20 C	21 Z¹	22 N		
23 C	24 R	25 F	26 X	27 O			28 G	29 H	30 Z¹	31 T	32 O	33 X	34 V	35 I	36 J		37 Y	
38 H	39 Z¹		40 A	41 W	42 M	43 C			44 B	45 H	46 G		47 P	48 V	49 O	50 N	51 D	
52 U	53 K	54 Z		55 G	56 F			57 S	58 D	59 T	60 X		61 D	62 U	63 L	64 Z	65 Y	
66 G		67 A	68 B	69 G		70 B	71 Q	72 L	73 Y	74 H	75 N	76 I		77 Y	78 O	79 J		
80 P		81 F	82 I	83 Q		84 M	85 E		86 G	87 M	88 H	89 X	90 N	91 R		92 G		
93 M		94 O	95 V	96 W		97 F	98 Z¹	99 W	100 G		101 C	102 R	103 F	104 P	105 H			
106 R	107 E	108 H		109 B		110 V	111 K	112 D		113 S	114 B	115 T		116 X	117 Z	118 W		
119 Z¹		120 L	121 N	122 K	123 Y		124 A	125 B		126 T	127 K	128 O	129 B	130 I		131 Q		
132 F	133 E	134 O		135 Z¹	136 A		137 B	138 D	139 L		140 S	141 E	142 Q	143 Y	144 T			
145 Z	146 L	147 Q	148 P	149 C	150 E		151 J	152 K	153 N	154 G		155 U	156 R	157 C	158 N	159 L		
	160 K	161 T	162 I	163 H	164 Z	165 J		166 K	167 H	168 I	169 S		170 L	171 P		172 T		
173 R	174 I	175 J	176 C	177 W	178 D	179 M	180 V	181 P	182 O									

Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 8 of this issue.

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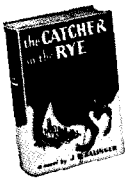

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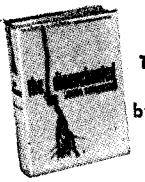

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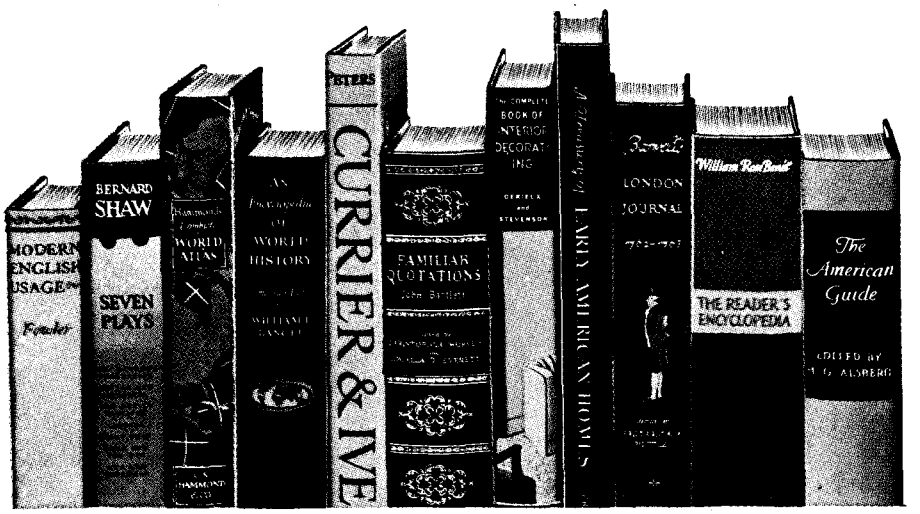

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